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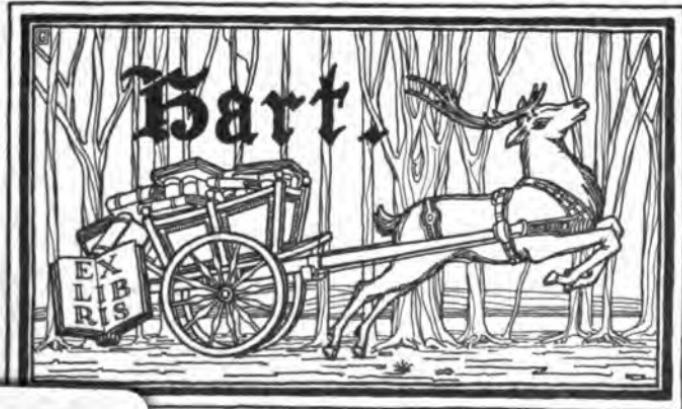
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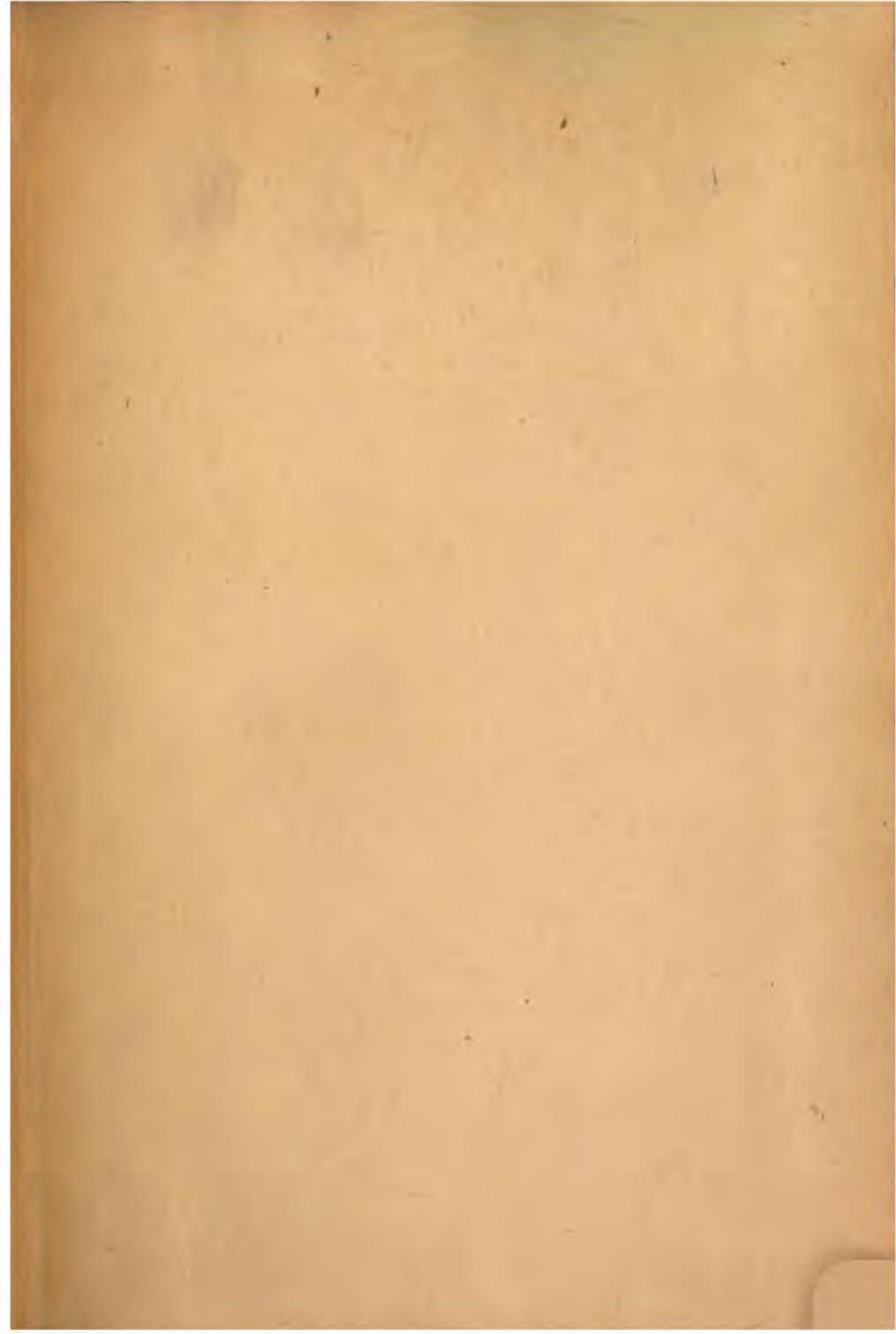
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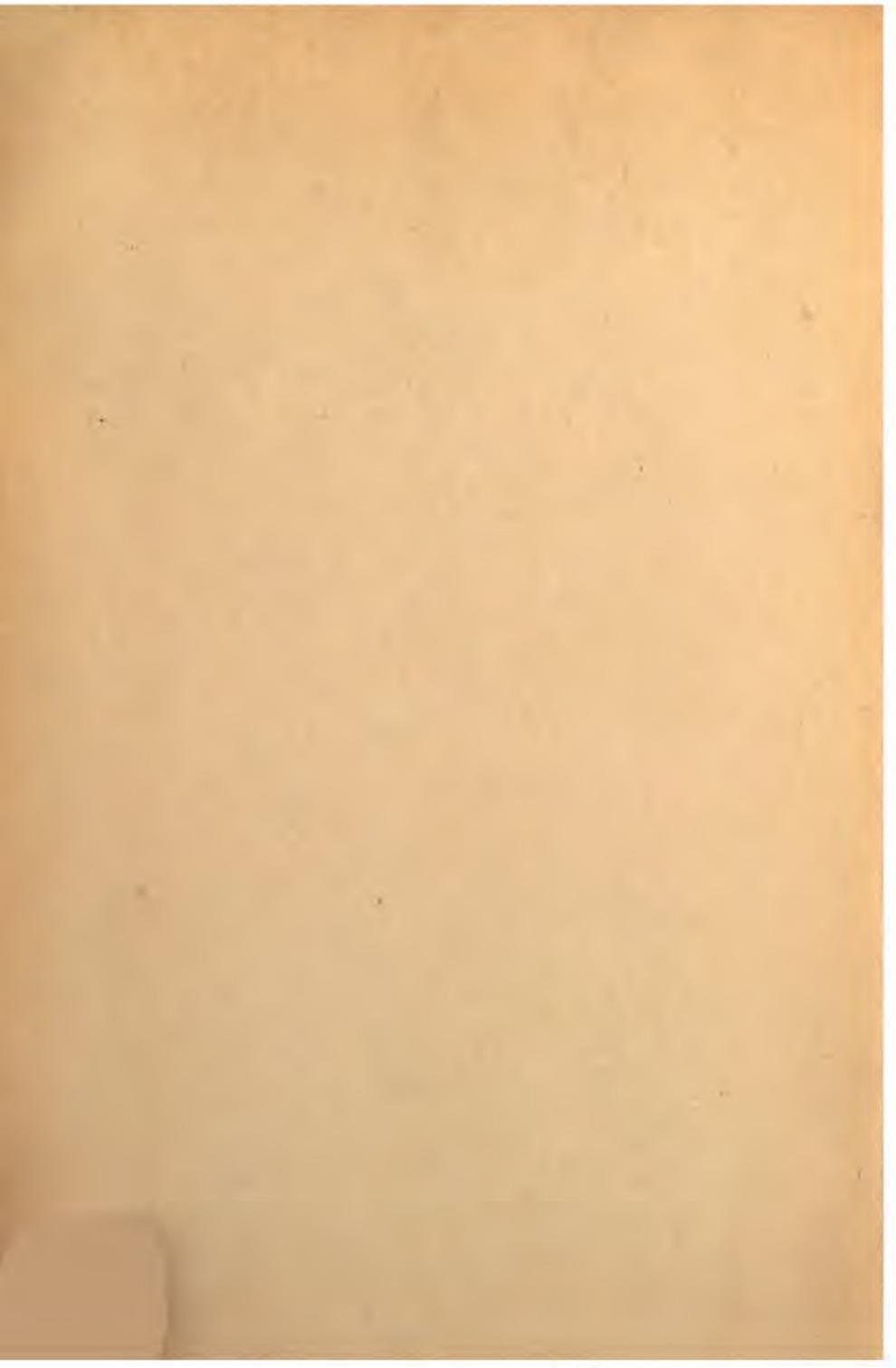


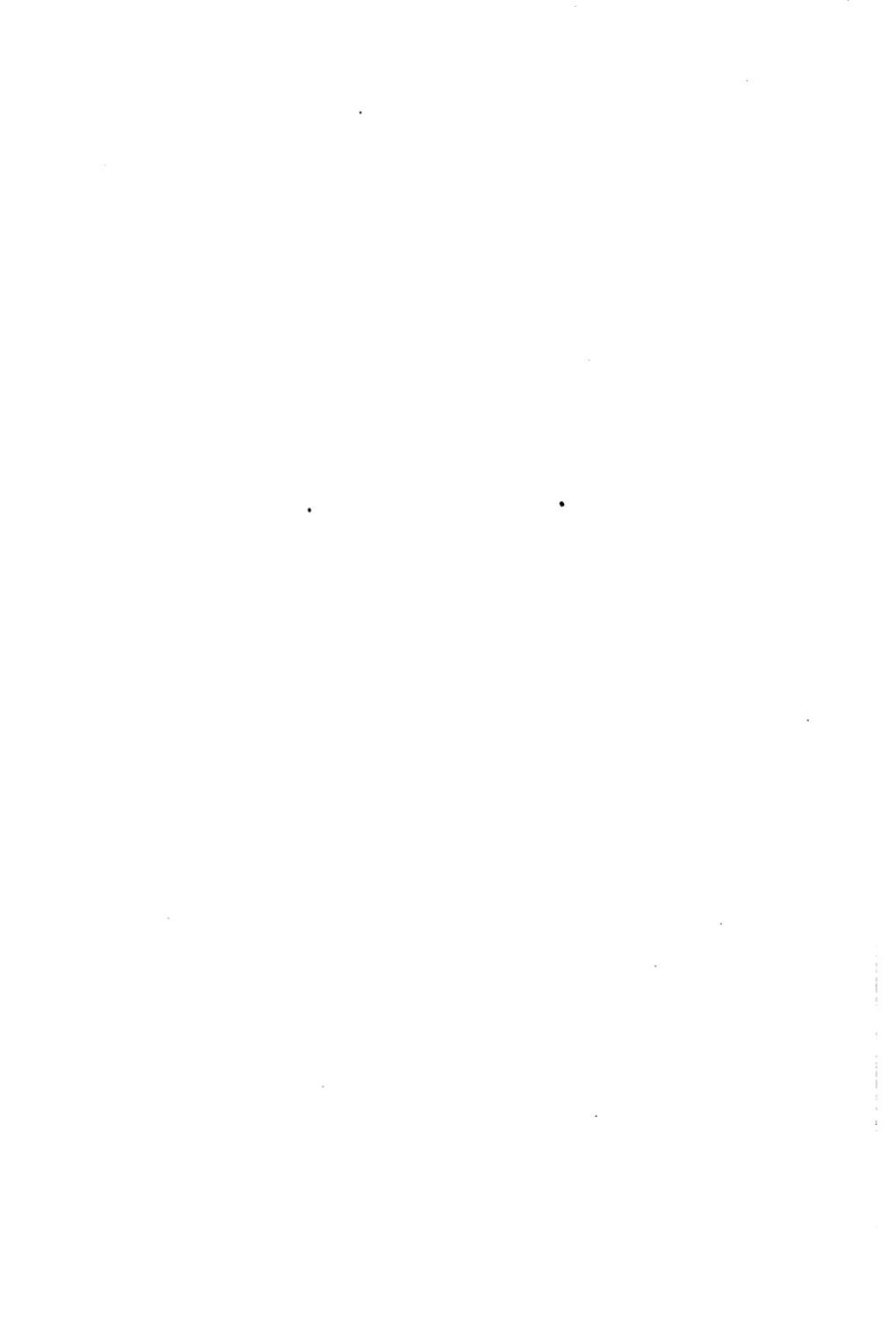
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Class of 1880

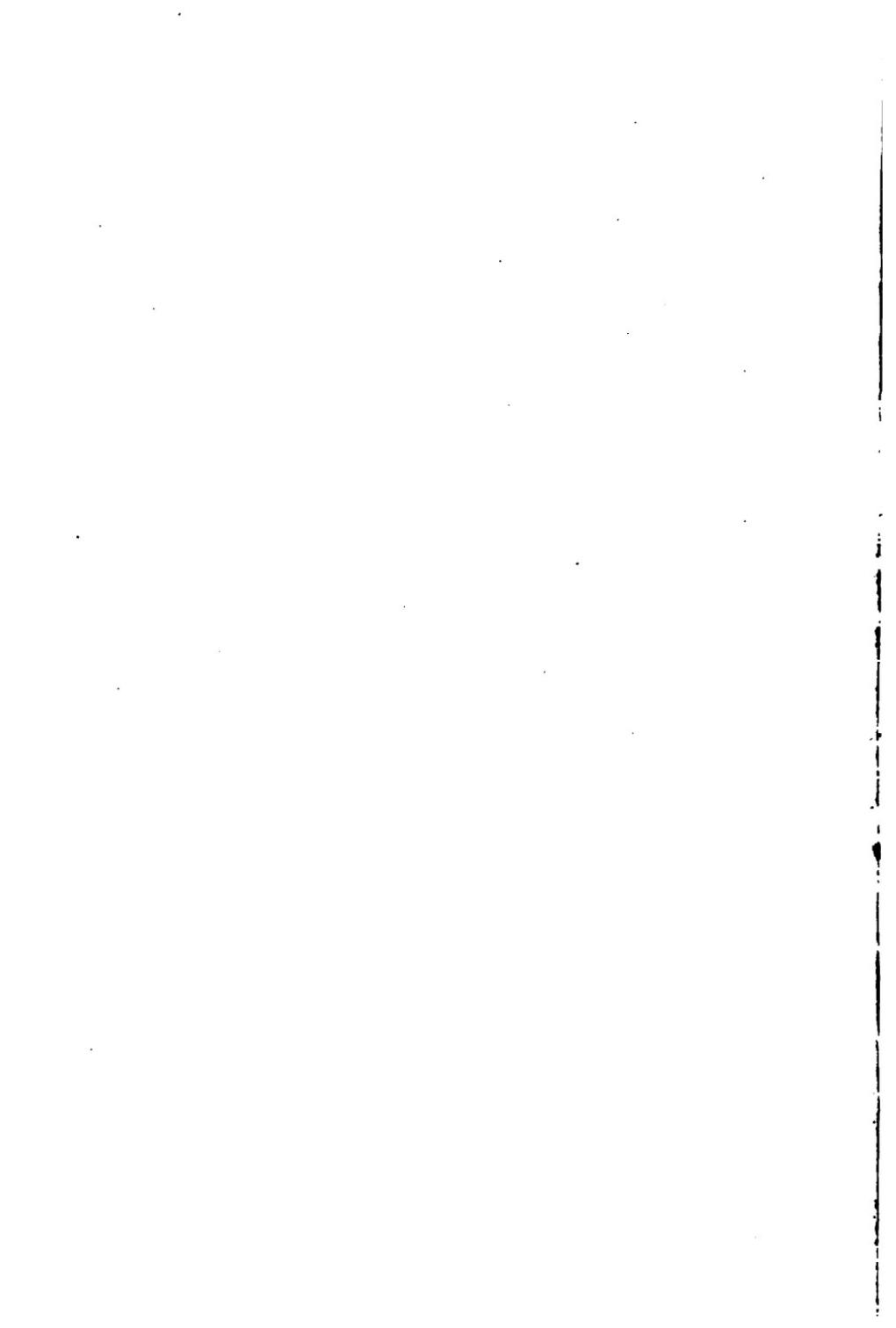


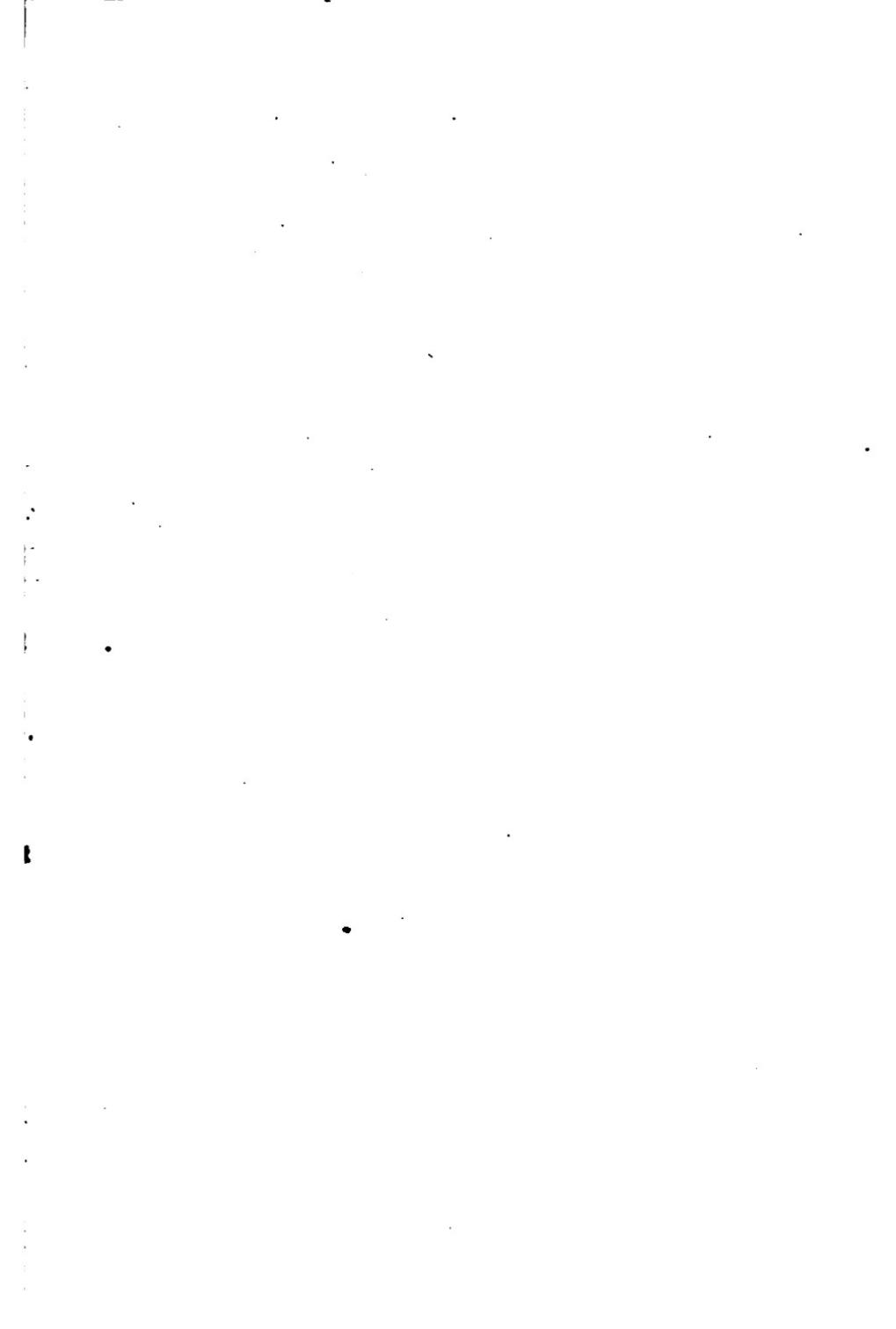
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PYRAMIDS OF EGYPT.



HISTORIES FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS

ESSENTIALS

IN

ANCIENT HISTORY

(FROM THE EARLIEST RECORDS
TO CHARLEMAGNE)

BY

ARTHUR MAYER WOLFSON, PH.D.

ASSISTANT IN HISTORY, DE WITT CLINTON HIGH SCHOOL, NEW YORK

IN CONSULTATION WITH

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LL.D.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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Prof. A.B. Hart

HISTORIES FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS

A SERIES PREPARED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LL.D.
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

ESSENTIALS IN ANCIENT HISTORY

By ARTHUR MAYER WOLFSON, PH.D.

ESSENTIALS IN MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY

By SAMUEL B. HARDING, PH.D.

In preparation.

ESSENTIALS IN ENGLISH HISTORY

By ALBERT PERRY WALKER, A.M.

In preparation.

ESSENTIALS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LL.D.

In preparation.

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ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL, LONDON.

ESSEN. ANC. HIST.

W. P. I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

THIS series of four histories for secondary schools is intended to serve as an outline of the most important episodes in the world's history. The titles of the volumes sufficiently suggest the point of view: the effort will be to bring out the things which have really been significant and vital in the development of the race. Personalities and events, however striking in themselves, which have not had a clear and definite effect in the movement of the world, are omitted in order that in the brief space available the essentials may be more clearly presented.

In the four successive volumes the series follows the plan recommended by the Committee of Seven: the first volume includes the essentials of history from the earliest civilization in Egypt and Mesopotamia to the establishment of a western empire by Charlemagne; the second volume covers mediæval and modern European history from about 800 A.D. to the present day; the third volume is a consecutive account of English history; the fourth covers American history.

Each volume presents the work for one school year, and an effort has been made so to divide the work that a week may be devoted to each chapter. The numbered sectional headings in the margin show the natural subdivision of each subject, and furnish a convenient means of reference and cross reference.

As for pedagogic apparatus, the plan followed throughout has been to print a brief bibliography together with select and cogent topics for review and study. Two series of questions will be found at the end of each chapter: the first a set which may readily be answered from the text or from ordinary compendiums such as cyclopedias, atlases, and the like; the second a set providing for the modern method of search into a wider range of authorities. Suggestions for such work will be found in the *Report of the Madison Conference of 1892*, the *Report of the Committee of Seven*, and the *New England History Teachers' Association Report on Use of Historical Sources in*

Schools. The only hints that need here be given are that for pupils in their first year in the high school topics must be such as may be simply and easily answered out of a small number of available books; that so far as possible sources should be used, because of their suggestiveness and spirit; and that such work ought to be an adjunct, and not the staple of a pupil's work in the course.

Every good school course ought to include some parallel reading from sources or from good secondary books, and such material may very conveniently be reached through the bibliographies at the end of each chapter. In these bibliographies the first references, as far as possible, are to books included in the "Brief List" which will be found near the end of each volume. This small collection of books may be purchased for twenty-five dollars or less, and all teachers and pupils are urged to provide themselves with as many of these books as possible. For schools or individuals who have access to a larger library, a General Bibliography is given, from which further books may be selected.

In order to train pupils to think about facts, there will be found at the end of each chapter a brief summary, which is not a mere recapitulation of the previous sections, but a succinct statement of the whole ground covered by the chapter.

Throughout the series maps are plentiful. It is expected that teachers will insist on the location of the places mentioned in the text, and, further, that they will make clear the geographical relief, the relations of mountains, plateaus, river systems, and lowlands which play a part in history.

The illustrations throughout are representations of real things, of still existing memorials of former times, or reproductions of contemporary portraits, and pictures of historical sites.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.

THE AUTHOR TO THE TEACHER

IN writing this text-book, two things have been kept constantly in view: first, that it should contain nothing but the essentials of ancient history; and second, that the story should be told in a way that would be perfectly comprehensible to boys and girls just entering a high school or academy. With these two purposes in view, everything which does not contribute directly to the understanding of the rise, development, and downfall of the nations of antiquity has been rigorously excluded; while abstruse discussions and the minutiae of the story have been avoided, as unsuited to the readers who are to use this text. In the main, the book deals only with the lives of men who have had a large influence upon the country in which they lived, and with places which were centers of important events. Hence, it is hoped that the pupil will carry away with him a clear idea of the character and career of the great men of antiquity, and will know, when he has finished the book, the names, the location, and the importance of all the great centers of ancient civilization.

The aim of the entire book has been to tell not simply the story of the nations of the Orient, of Greece, and of Rome, but of ancient civilization in its development and decay; hence I have ventured to depart from the time-honored method of carrying the subject down to the end of Greek political life before beginning the story of Rome at all. The history of the two civilizations is not entirely distinct; Rome was a growing power even in the days of the greatest glory of Athens and Sparta, and when Greek independence perished, Greek culture remained to influence the whole later history of Rome; hence it has seemed wise, after completing the account of the life and work of Alexander, to tell the story of the beginnings of Rome. When the fortunes of Rome have been followed to the point where the city is the greatest state in the Mediterranean basin, the history of the East is resumed and carried on to the point where it merges in that of Rome. Should any teacher prefer the old method of treating the

history of the two nations, he has only to take up Chapters xxiv. and xxv. before Chapters xviii. to xxiii.

No real comprehension of ancient history is possible unless the pupil has a clear idea of geography and chronology. In writing the text, I have constantly endeavored to convey a clear idea of the chronological relations of events; and in making the maps, especial care has been exercised to see that they illustrate the text. Physical and political divisions have been carefully indicated, and in general no place has been inserted which is not mentioned in the text.

The illustrations in the book are all pictures of things which actually existed in ancient times, except a few reproductions of modern paintings which depict accurately ancient conditions, and a few photographs of places where memorable events occurred. I urge strongly the use of other collections of pictures besides those included in the text, because they serve to fix in the minds of young people the habits and customs of the races about whom the book is written. In the same way, the reading of historical fiction should be encouraged, even though the author may occasionally depart from strict historical truth; for in no other way can the essentials of a civilization be so firmly implanted in young minds.

In using the apparatus appended to each chapter, the hints given in the General Introduction should be carefully considered; the best results with young pupils will be obtained by a small amount of judiciously selected reading. Boys and girls should, however, be encouraged to read the sources, since through them they will be enabled to enter best into the spirit of the times in which they were written. In preparing the topics for recitation, the work should be simple at first, and increasingly difficult as the pupils become more and more familiar with the book and with the subject.

I am under special obligation to my friend Dr. James Sullivan, of the High School of Commerce, Borough of Manhattan, New York, for the preparation of the topics and bibliographies and the selection of the maps for this book. These parts of the work were intrusted to him, and it is to his skill and effort that their excellence is due.

ARTHUR MAYER WOLFSON.

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ESSENTIALS IN ANCIENT HISTORY

CHAPTER I.

THE HOMES AND HIGHROADS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

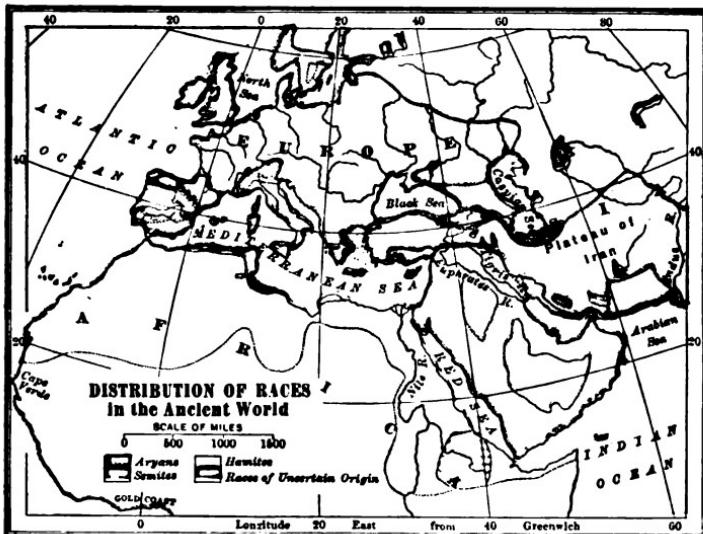
THE history of the civilized world may be divided into three great periods. The first, an era of more than thirty centuries, includes the record of the nations which in ancient times inhabited the valleys of the Nile and of the Tigris and Euphrates; the second includes the history of the peoples who inhabited the northern peninsulas of the Mediterranean and held dominion over the western world during the thousand years from about 600 B.C. to about 400 A.D.; the third period embraces the history of the races of central Europe who about fifteen hundred years ago wrested the power away from the races of the Mediterranean and are still the dominant people in the world.

1. Scope of
ancient
history

By studying the monuments of ancient peoples, by examining the remains of their civilization, and by deciphering their written records, we can trace the history of the world back to a period some three or four thousand years before the birth of Christ. That the human race has lived upon the earth much longer than this has long since been proved, but the story of these early men belongs to other branches of human knowledge than history, and we shall therefore not try to discuss them in this book.

Outside the limits of Europe, and beyond the adjacent parts of Asia and Africa, there have existed and still exist great empires controlled by the yellow races; but the white races only have contributed directly to the civilization of the

modern western world, and therefore we are interested primarily in their career. Of the white or Caucasian races, there are three great types,—the Hamitic, the Semitic, and the Aryan. The Hamitic races inhabited the valley of the Nile in ancient times; the Semitic occupied the Tigris-Euphrates



valley and the eastern shore of the Mediterranean; the Aryan, in historic times, have lived in two widely separated regions,—the plateau of Iran and the valleys of the Indus and Ganges to the east, and Europe to the west.

In the division of the world's history suggested in the first paragraph, the first period is that of the supremacy of the Hamitic and Semitic races; the second and third periods are marked by the supremacy of the Aryan races. In this book, we shall study, first, the history of the ancient Hamitic and Semitic empires; second, the history of the Aryan Greeks and Romans of southern Europe; and third, the transition of power from the Aryans of southern Europe to the Aryans of central Europe.

Since we are to begin the study of history with the story of nations which lived ages before the discovery of America, we must first of all fix in our minds the accepted system of reckoning time. In Christian countries, it has become the universal custom to date all events from the traditional year of the birth of Christ; anything, according to this system, is said to have happened so many years before or after that momentous event. Each one of the countries of antiquity, however, had its own scheme of reckoning time; in many, the people never got beyond keeping their records according to the reigns of their successive kings,—thus, for instance, the Bible speaks of events as happening “in the fourth year of King Hezekiah.” In other countries, time was reckoned from some great national festival, like the Olympian games in Greece, or from some great national event, like the founding of the city of Rome. Thus the Roman speaking of the birth of Christ did not say that he was born in the year 1, but “in the year 754 A.U.C.” that is, in the 754th year from the founding of the city. Since Christian chronology is a comparatively modern system of reckoning time, all events of antiquity must be redated according to our system before we can tell how long ago they occurred. Furthermore, in all dates before the birth of Christ, it should be remembered that the larger number is earlier than the smaller; thus 400 B.C. precedes 300 B.C. by one hundred years.

Turning now to the geography of the ancient world, we shall notice, first of all, that Asia is divided by nature into two very unequal parts separated by an almost unbroken mass of mountains and desert plains which stretch from the Black Sea to Bering Strait. North and west of these mountains lie great steppes or plains, with a climate so unfavorable that the inhabitants have taken little part in history. Only at long intervals have the wild races of the steppes

2. Chronology of ancient history

II. Kings, xviii. 9

3. High-
lands and
plains of
Asia

swept over the barrier raised by the mountains into the lands of the south. South and east of the mountains lie the great river plains of China, India, and Mesopotamia, regions among the most fertile in the world, which in very ancient times were the seats of three great civilizations. Since these plains are separated from one another by almost impassable barriers, the three civilizations had but little effect upon one another.

East of the Altai and Himalaya mountains lies China. Four or five thousand years ago, a race of men who came

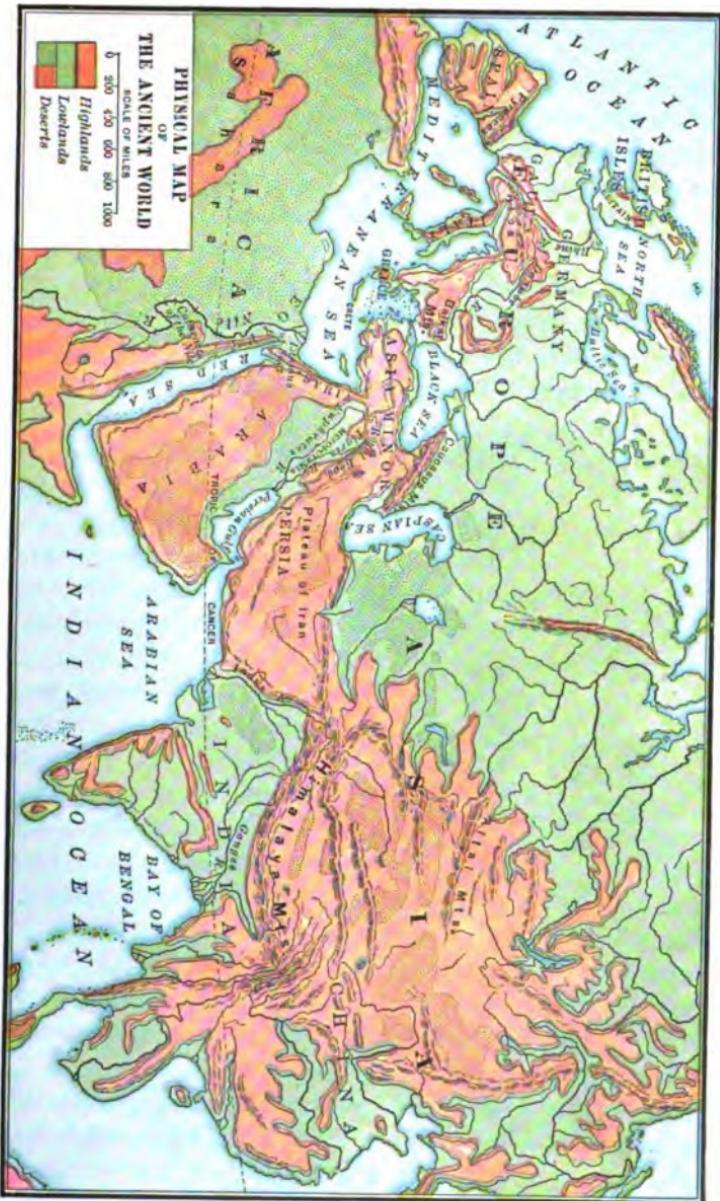
4. **China** from some country to the west wandered into this fertile region and founded a kingdom which, though it has often been a prey to marauding hosts of Tartars, has lasted to this day and is still noted for its exceptional civilization.

The language and the institutions of the Chinese are altogether distinct from those of the European nations; still, they developed a literature of their own which has considerable merit, and upon a knowledge of which their civil service examinations are based; and about the end of the sixth century B.C., there arose among the people a great religious teacher, Confucius (551-478 B.C.), whose moral and ethical doctrines affected the life of the country throughout all the succeeding centuries. Besides Confucius, the Chinese can boast of ~~another~~ ^{is only} great religious teachers, Lao-tse, the founder of Taoism, second in influence ~~only~~ to Confucius.

Since, however, China is cut off by deserts and highlands from the lands to the west, and since the Chinese have always been noted for their exclusiveness, the varied history of the land lies entirely outside the ordinary field of study.

Flowing south from the Himalayas, there are two great rivers whose valleys have always supported vast numbers of people. These rivers, the Ganges and the Indus, rising

5. **India** not far from each other in the mountains, flow to the southeast and to the southwest in such a way as to create a



long, semicircular belt, which stretches from the Bay of Bengal on the one side to the Arabian Sea on the other, and which from the dawn of history has been the seat of an important civilization.

About 2000 B.C., an Aryan race coming from somewhere to the northwest entered the land, and in the course of the succeeding centuries subjugated the aboriginal inhabitants. Under these conquering Aryans the land prospered, and the remains of their buildings even to-day attest the greatness of their civilization. Their language, known as Sanskrit, is re-

motely related to the present languages of almost all the nations of western Europe: their literature is full of stirring legends dealing with their conquests, and their hymns of praise to their gods are among the noblest songs of all antiquity. In religion, they were worshipers of the powers of nature, but their priests, called Brahmins, gradually devel-



A BRAHMIN.

oped a belief in one Universal Spirit. The worst feature of their civilization is the division of the people into castes. Between these castes, of which there are five in all,—priests, warriors, farmers, serfs, and social outcasts or pariahs,—there is no social intercourse, and civilization has stagnated because lack of intercourse is fatal to progress.

West of the plains of the Ganges and the Indus stretches a great highland called the plateau of Iran, which is so devoid of water for man or beast that it served as an effective check on trade and intercourse between the people to the east

and those to the west. Even as late as the beginning of the Christian era, when great empires had been flourishing for many centuries both to the east and to the west, the Romans were forced to admit that "few persons of our nation have ever seen India; and those who have visited it have seen only small portions of it; the greater part of what they relate is from report."

*Strabo,
Geography,
v. 1, 1*

Beyond the plateau of Iran lies Mesopotamia, the valley of the twin rivers, Tigris and Euphrates; from here to the Atlantic Ocean, a distance as great as the greatest distance across North America from east to west, stretches a comparatively narrow sweep of country that is bound together by numerous and easily traversed highroads, though cut up into a number of separate valleys and peninsulas. Its northern limits are formed by the Black Sea and the mountain ranges which divide southern from central Europe; its southern limits are the great deserts of Arabia and Sahara; in its center lies the Mediterranean Sea, the greatest of all the highroads of antiquity. In these plains and peninsulas was played the drama of history which we are now about to study.

6. Mesopo-
tamia and
the lands to
the west

The valley of Mesopotamia offered every advantage to agriculture, and the navigable rivers were of such a character that travel and therefore trade and commerce were easy and civilization followed in their path. Up through the valley and across the peninsula of Asia Minor ran the first great highroad of the world's commerce, "the Royal Road," as it was known through all antiquity. Back and forth along the road passed the armies, the merchants, and the travelers, carrying their civilization wherever they went. In Asia Minor, the nations of the east met those of the west, and here, in the exchange of ideas, was built up the newer civilization of which we to-day are the heirs.

South of Asia Minor, between the deserts and the sea, lies

a narrow strip of land which offers a most interesting example of the effect of geography on history. Owing to the

7. Syria: the high-road from north to south mountains, the deserts, and the sea, this strip of land was the only highroad between the countries to the north and east and those to the south; consequently

the dwellers therein became the great trading people of antiquity. Furthermore, the open sea lying ever at the doors of the people of the coast induced them, a hardy and enterprising race, to build ships in which they might venture out to westward. On board these craft they carried the goods of the east to the farthest extremities of the known world; and in their trade they unconsciously spread the civilization which they had learned from their eastern neighbors.

Across the Isthmus of Suez, in the northeastern part of Africa, lies the valley of the Nile. Cut off from the rest of

8. Egypt the southern continent by the mountains and the desert, the ancient Egyptians were little affected by the races of the interior. Many conjectures were indulged in as to the source of the Nile, but the cataracts and the uninviting country beyond served for many centuries as an effective check to any real exploration. Besides, with a land so rich as the lower course of the river, the people had but little inducement to seek new fields for further enterprise. With its periodical floods, with its mild and almost invariable climate, with its freedom from moisture, and its clear, blue skies, the Nile valley was destined, like the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, to become the seat of one of the earliest civilizations in the world.

On the northern shore of the Mediterranean are the three great peninsulas of southern Europe: Greece, Italy, and

9. North Spain: shore of the Mediterranean Of the three, Greece and Italy in turn became the centers of important civilizations in ancient times. Both are mountainous, and, since the means of communication by land were limited, it was not till seafaring

became common that these countries began to develop. When once the Greeks had learned the use of ships, however, their development was rapid; and the knowledge which came from the east they later passed—as we shall see further on—to their neighbors in Italy.



THE NILE AT PHILAE.

Such is the geography of the ancient world as we know it to-day. To the men of antiquity, however, much of this world was a sealed book. What they knew or guessed about the earth's surface before the fifth century B.C. we do not know, for such records of their belief as existed in earliest times have long since perished. By the fifth century B.C., however, the Greeks had begun to travel far and wide; and what the traveler saw, the geographer and the historian set down in books.

The first of the ancient writers whose works on geography are preserved is Herodotus. Though his book is primarily a history, yet it gives us a very good idea of the knowledge of

10. The
world as
the Greeks
knew it

the earth possessed by the Greeks of his time. To him the world was a great plain, bounded on the west by the Atlantic and on the east by a sea which lay somewhere beyond India. Of the western world—that is, of the part lying between the plateau of Iran and the Atlantic—Herodotus had a very good

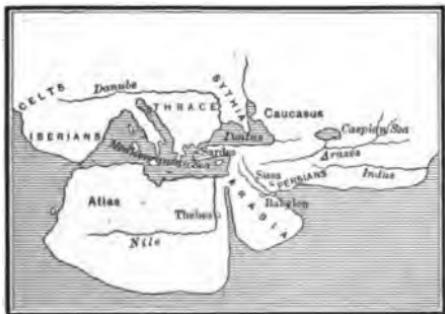
idea. Of the country beyond the plateau, of the waters of the upper Nile, even of the land beyond the mountains in Europe, he had only the vaguest notions.

Till the time of Alexander the Great (about 325 B.C.) the

knowledge of geography increased but little; then men came to know something of the countries of the east by actual observation. Alexander himself explored the Indus River and the shores of the Arabian Sea, and by his orders the sea itself was navigated from the mouth of the Indus to the Persian Gulf. Beyond the Himalayas, or into the plateau of southern India, neither Alexander nor his successors ever penetrated.

In the following centuries, control of the ancient world passed into the hands of the Romans. From their original

11. The seat in Italy, they ranged far and wide, penetrating into central Europe, even into the interior of Asia; till, by the beginning of the Christian era, the educated Roman knew something of the geography of the world from the North Sea to the Sahara, from the Atlantic to the Himalayas. In time, all this knowledge was gathered into one book by the geographer Strabo, who lived just before the beginning of the Christian era. According to him, the earth was a sphere,



THE WORLD ACCORDING TO HERODOTUS.

composed of a great land mass, which stretched from the Atlantic to the sea beyond India, and of a great ocean which separated western Europe from eastern Asia. "It is evident," he says, "when persons on shipboard are unable to see at a distance lights which are on a level with the eye, that the cause of this is the curvature of the sea; for if the lights are raised to a higher level, they become visible." Of the distance around the earth, it is true, Strabo had but an inadequate idea; but it is interesting to know that, fifteen hundred years before Columbus, men already appreciated the rotundity of the earth.

*Strabo,
Geography,
i. 1, 20*



THE WORLD ACCORDING TO PTOLEMY.

In the century or century and a half after the death of Strabo, though much was learned to make geography a more exact science, little more of the earth's surface was discovered. Ptolemy, the last of the great geographers of antiquity, though he showed a better appreciation of the earth's rotundity, could include but little more in his maps than Strabo had known. After his time, men lost rather than gained in their knowledge of geography, till in the fifteenth century,

some fourteen hundred years later, the new kingdoms of modern Europe began to send out navigators who eventually made the circuit of the globe.

Ancient history, as we are to study it, covers three periods: first, the history of the Hamitic and Semitic races who inhabited the valleys of the Tigris and the Nile, and **12. Summary** the lands between; second, the history of the Aryan Greeks and Romans, who controlled the Mediterranean basin till well on into the Christian era; third, the history of the transition from the ancient to the medieval world, from Roman to German supremacy. To understand this history, it is necessary that we comprehend, first, the Christian system of chronology; and second, the physical geography of the ancient world, especially that part which lies west of the plateau of Iran. It is important also to remember that much of our present knowledge of these lands was a sealed book to the men who lived in antiquity.

TOPICS

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| Suggestive topics | (1) Why did early civilization reach its highest point in river valleys and near seacoasts? (2) What other branches of the human race are there besides the Caucasian? Why do we not study about them? Why are we most interested in the history of the Aryan division of the Caucasian branch? (3) What is the Jewish, the Mohammedan, the Russian, date for the year in which you are studying this book? (4) How would a monk of the Middle Ages give the date of an event happening near Easter? (5) What are the best boundaries between countries? Why? (6) What were the "wild races" which swept over the countries of southern Asia and Europe? |
|--------------------------|--|

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| Search topics | (7) Ancient accounts of crossing mountains. (8) Ancient accounts of sea voyages. (9) Ancient accounts of river voyages. (10) The earliest maps of the world. (11) A story from Herodotus. (12) The voyages of Ulysses. (13) Evidences of the Tartar conquest of Pekin. (14) Teachings of Confucius. (15) The caste system of India. |
|----------------------|---|

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CHAPTER II.

THE EGYPTIANS: THEIR HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION

WHATEVER evidences of the antiquity of nations the future may bring forth, at present the records of the past seem to

13. Beginnings of Egyptian history indicate that the oldest civilized nation in the western world lived in the valley of the Nile. Of the beginnings of that people, we know practically nothing. The first Egyptian king of whom we have even the faintest records was Menes, who, about 4500 or 4000 B.C., seems to have united the people of the valley under one government and established his capital at Memphis. Thenceforth the Egyptians may be regarded as one nation.

Some centuries after the death of Menes we come upon

14. Era of the pyramids (about 3900 B.C.)

a race of kings whose existence is proved by the inscriptions carved upon

the stones of the pyramids which stand near the modern village of Gizeh. Of these kings, the most famous was Khufu or Cheops, who built the great pyramid which bears his name. A high state of civilization is proved by



(At its greatest northeastern extent).

these pyramids; for only a people who had a considerable understanding of the laws of physics and mechanics could have reared such monuments to their kings. Cheops and his successors ruled in the land for several hundred years.

When the records begin again, the seat of power has been transferred to a city several hundred miles south of Memphis: the city of Thebes. Here, under the two kings Amenemhat and his son Usurtasen, the kingdom was reorganized, and the dominion of the Egyptians extended beyond the borders of the Nile valley into Syria and southward into the country of the Nile cataracts. For over three centuries, under Ameneimhat and his successors, the land flourished, trade and commerce were carried on, buildings and monuments sprang up, and in spite of wars contentment reigned in the valley.

Once again the kingdom declined till, about 2000 B.C., as an Egyptian chronicler says, "God was adverse to the land, and there came men of ignoble birth out of the eastern parts who had boldness enough to make an expedition into the country, and subdued it with ease." Who these men were, we can only conjecture; known as the shepherd or Hyksos dynasty, they ruled the land for about four centuries. In that time, they made themselves masters of the Nile delta and possibly extended their power into the upper valley of the river. Though these barbarians had little in the way of culture to offer the Egyptians, still they brought with them the tame horse, which thenceforward was a common beast of burden in the land. In another way the Hyksos conquest was important: in the train of the shepherd kings came many traders who brought the Egyptians into contact with foreign nations and thus disseminated the culture which had developed in the Nile valley.

About 1580 B.C., a king of a native race, Aahmes, succeeded in driving the Hyksos from the land. He and his successors

15. The
Middle
Kingdom
(about 2800
-2400 B.C.)

*Quoted in
Josephus,
vs. Apion,
i. 14*

16. Hyksos
or shepherd
kings
(about 2000
-1580 B.C.)

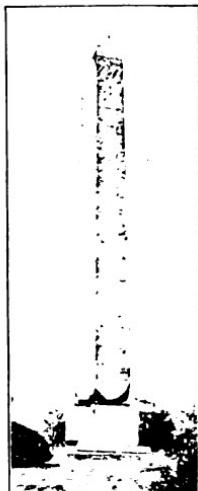
— the so-called eighteenth dynasty, according to the lists of the priest-historian Manetho,— restored the Egyptian power,

17. Egypt and the nations and at once began a series of conquests which led them far among the nations. Southward into Nubia, the country of the cataracts, they penetrated; and under Thothmes I., the third king of this dynasty, expeditions were undertaken which led even to the upper waters of the Euphrates. What Thothmes attained by arms, his daughter, Queen Hatasu, accomplished by trade; during her regency, extensive commercial expeditions were undertaken, and Egyptian ships were seen beyond the limits of the Red Sea in the Indian Ocean.

Under Hatasu's brother, Thothmes III. (1481–1449 B.C.), the realm attained its greatest glory; year after year, he led his successful armies forth into the land of Syria and beyond, till,

Records of the Past, 1st ser. II.
p. 17 before his death, "the chiefs of all the countries were clasped in his fist." Into Egypt streamed long trains of captives, and treasures beyond calculation. In the wake of the armies traveled traders with their goods, the result of centuries of industrial progress, and once again the culture of Egypt was spread abroad among the nations.

About 1350 B.C. a new race of kings, "the nineteenth dynasty," ascended the throne. For many years these rulers engaged in constant warfare with a strong people, the Hittites of the Bible, for territorial supremacy in Syria. Finally, in the reign of Ramses II., the two races came to an understanding by which they divided the land between them. This



OBELISK.

In Central Park, New York; brought from Egypt. It has inscriptions by Thothmes III. and Ramses II.

treaty, perhaps the oldest in the world, has been preserved for us. "The great prince of the Hittites makes this treaty with Ramses II., the great king of Egypt, from this day forth, so that a good peace and brotherhood may arise between them. He shall be in alliance with me and I with him for all time." Out of this agreement grew another era like that of Thothmes III.; once again commerce flourished; once again architects and builders were busy erecting palaces for the king, and temples for the gods.

*Records of
the Past,
1st ser. IV.
p. 25*



COLOSSAL STATUES OF RAMSES II. AT IPSAMBUL.

When Ramses died, however, the glory of the kingdom was already on the decline. Brilliant as had been his reign, the foundations of the kingdom were undermined; and though his successors ruled the land for a century and a half longer, they were, for the most part, weak, priest-ridden kings, with nothing of the individuality of their great ancestors. In the end, the priests themselves became kings, deposing the weaklings of the nineteenth dynasty.

The power of Egypt in the world was already gone, and year after year the valley was raided by the surrounding nations:

first, the Ethiopians from the south invaded and ruled the land; next, the Libyans; and finally the Assyrians from

18. Egypt beyond the Euphrates overran the valley. What the **the prey of** inhabitants suffered we can only dimly conjecture; nevertheless, these conquests served a good purpose, for by **(about 1200)** them the culture of the centuries was spread over the entire ancient world; and thus the Egyptians left their heritage to the future ages.

For the last time a race of native princes ascended the throne in 645 B.C., when Psammetichus drove out the Assyrians; but their rule was unimportant. In the end, they too fell before a conquering host: for in 525 B.C., Cambyses, king of Persia, entered the land and easily conquered it; from that day to this Egypt has hardly known an independent native ruler.

Almost all that we know of the ancient Egyptians is preserved in the fragments of their literature, and in the many

19. Egyptian language and literature inscriptions with which they covered their buildings. These records are written in hieroglyphics; that is, in

a system of writing in which ideas or letters are expressed in the form of conventional pictures. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century these hieroglyphics were nothing more than unintelligible picture writings to the European; since then, however, through the activity of Champollion, the great Egyp-

tologist, and his successors, we have learned to understand them almost perfectly. The key to their interpretation was found in the so-called Rosetta stone, on which a decree in honor of one of the later kings (Ptolemy, 196-181 B.C.) was engraved in three kinds of writing: Greek, popular Egyptian (called demotic), and hieroglyphics. In all parts of Egypt there exist, even to-day, after five or six thousand years, the remains of tombs and buildings covered with inscriptions



THE NAME OF EGYPT IN
HIEROGLYPHICS.

from which we can draw a fairly complete picture of the life of the people. Besides these, there are preserved in the museums of Egypt and Europe many fragments of the books which the Egyptians wrote on paper manufactured from the pulp of the papyrus reed. They include public and private records and all sorts of literary productions. Most common are the rolls devoted to the celebration of the virtues of those who have passed to the world beyond the grave; but much thought was devoted also to pure literature—fables and legends, stories of adventure and travel, lyric and religious poetry. Let the following prayer of King Ramses II. be an example of the literary skill and pious fervor of this ancient people:—

“Then I, King Ramses, said: ‘What art thou, my father Ammon? What father denies his son? Have I done aught without thee? Have I not stopped and stayed looking for thee, not transgressing. the decisions of thy mouth? . . . Have I not made thee monuments very many; filled thy temples with my spoils; built thee houses for millions of years? . . . I am amid the multitudes unknown, nations gather against me: I am alone, no other with me; my foot and my horse have left me. I called aloud to them, none of them heard. Yet do I find thee, Ammon, worth more than millions of soldiers! ’ ”

Throughout the entire period of authentic history, Egypt was ruled by a king or *pharaoh*, the character of whose authority we moderns scarcely comprehend. So absolute was his rule, so far was he removed from the life of an ordinary mortal, that the very office was thought to confer upon its holder kinship with the gods.

Nevertheless, the king called upon his subjects to aid him in the exercise of his divine authority. Within the palace, there lived a small army of officials and servants whose duties ranged from waiting upon the king with their advice and counsel, to attending to the smallest detail of his toilet.

*Records of
the Past,
1st ser. II.
p. 69*

20. Govern-
ment and
army

Beyond the palace, the king's assistants ruled, in his name, over the thirty or forty provinces into which Egypt was divided. From these provinces, and from the conquered lands, flowed the taxes and the tribute which maintained the king in oriental magnificence, and enabled him to undertake those public works which still stand among the marvels of the world.

The army of the pharaohs consisted of two classes of troops: regulars and militia. The militia was composed of those tillers of the soil who were not slaves, and was called upon for service only in times of greatest need. In the regular



AN EGYPTIAN WAR CHARIOT.

From a monument at Thebes.

or standing army there were several grades of troops: first, the heavy-armed infantry, equipped with lance and javelin, and protected by a quilted cap and buckler; next, the light-armed infantry, armed with bow and arrow, but unprotected by any defensive armor; finally, the

corps of auxiliary troops drawn from the dependencies, who bore the arms and armor of their native country. After the Hyksos invasion, when horses were introduced into Egypt, charioteers found their way into the army, but the infantry remained to the last the most important branch of the service.

We have seen above that in the minds of the people the king was closely allied with the gods. These gods were the

21. Religion and the belief in immortality most prominent factor in all Egyptian life; indeed, the entire existence of the people was dominated by their religion. In the beginning, each province had its own gods; as the land was unified, these provincial gods were added to the national pantheon, till, in historic times, the records speak of the "thousand gods of Egypt."

Of all the deities, three hold the most prominent place: Osiris, Isis, and Horus. About them gathered a very considerable mythology which had its basis in the phenomena of the rising and setting sun. Osiris, the sun, travels across the heavens, till in the evening he is killed by his brother Set, the god of darkness. Over his body, his wife Isis, goddess of the western horizon, mourns till he has been avenged by his son Horus, god of the new day, who takes his father's place in the world of daylight. Another principle of Egyptian religion is the practice of identifying the worship of the gods with the adoration of some natural object, usually an animal. Thus, to each god was dedicated some animal whose body was sacred, and in which the Egyptians were accustomed to look for the presence of the divinity. Dedicated to the service of these numerous gods was an extensive body of priests, who, next to the king, even before the nobles, enjoyed the highest privileges in the state. Into their hands, besides the worship of the gods, was gathered the education of the people and the care of the records of the state.

In the realms of the west, where Osiris lived,—so ran the legend,—the souls of the dead took up their abode. In order to preserve for every soul the body in which it had lived, the Egyptians took the greatest care of the earthly remains of the dead. Immediately after death the body was intrusted to the embalmers, who carefully prepared it for the grave. The mummy was then returned to the family, who carried it in



HORUS.

procession to the city of the dead, where it was buried, often in a costly tomb. No greater sacrilege could be committed than to disturb the body or neglect the worship of the departed soul. So skillful was the embalming that many mummies are almost perfectly preserved to-day; and we can actually look into the face of the great Ramses.

Nearly all the records of Egyptian civilization are found

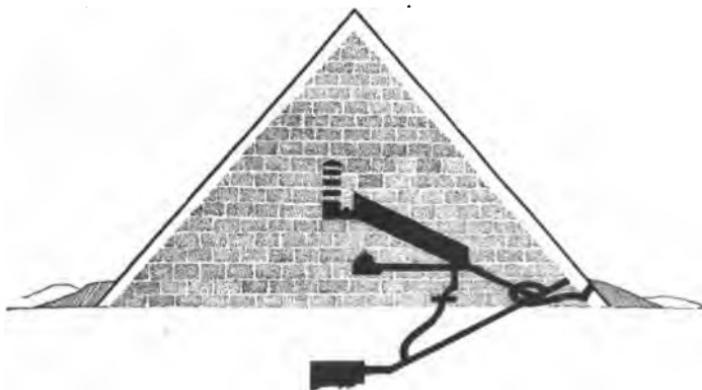
22. Architecture, sculpture, and painting depicted on the walls of the temples or of the tombs. As early as the

year 3000 B.C., the Egyp-

tians had attained to perfection in a kind of architecture which for massiveness in construction has never been excelled.



MUMMY HEAD OF RAMSES II.



SECTION OF THE GREAT PYRAMID AT GIZEH.

- The pyramids have been the wonder of all the ages; those who built them must have served an apprenticeship in the mechanical arts of many hundred years, for they show a per-

fection of construction and a knowledge of the laws of physics which no new race could have had. Intended as tombs for the kings, they stand the proud witness of the greatness of dynasties long since passed away.

When the race of kings who ruled at Thebes came to the throne, a new form of architecture had already taken the place of the old. The tombs are no longer so immense, and the kings are now usually intent on building stately houses for the worship of their gods, rather than for the entombment of their dead. These temples, conceived on a gigantic scale, often covering acres of ground, were usually composed of vast series of columns, arranged in long rows so as to give the spectator a mysterious perspective and the effect of indescribable grandeur.

As a handmaiden to architecture, the Egyptians developed a system of sculpture which has also left its impress on the world. Viewed with modern eyes, the massive sphinxes and colossal statues of the Egyptians seem crude enough, but there are other smaller statues in stone and wood which are marvels of skill and technical perfection; and from these Egyptian beginnings other races developed schools of art with which not even those of the moderns can compare.

Painting, too, was used to decorate and embellish the temples. Though the drawing was crude, though the figures hardly represent the human form, still there was an appreciation of the value of colors in decoration which must win our admiration.

Though originally an agricultural people, even before they came into contact with the outside world the Egyptians had advanced far in the field of the mechanical arts: they knew glass blowing, weaving, metal working, stone cutting, in short, the fundamental arts of civilization. For a long time their products were enjoyed by the natives only; but in time merchants from Syria and beyond entered the

23. Industry and trade

land to trade; and soon the markets of the known world were full of the products of Egyptian workmen. At last, the Egyptians learned to adventure into foreign lands; caravans were fitted out, and ships were built which carried their goods

to the farthest corners of the ancient world. When the kingdom finally went down before the conqueror, the Egyptian had not lived in vain.

Even to-day,

Egyptian civilization is not lost; it is embodied in the civilization of all the ages which is the inheritance of our own time.

Egyptian history reaches back some four thousand years or more before the birth of Christ. Its first records are embodied

24. Summary in the work of the pyramid builders, of whom King Cheops was the greatest. Of the later kings, the most famous are Thothmes III., the great conqueror, and Ramses II., pharaoh in the days of the Hittite wars. Between them and the earlier kings lies the period of the Hyksos invasion. From the days of Ramses the kingdom slowly declined till in the end it became the prey of one foreign conqueror after another.

Of Egyptian civilization, the chief records are to be found in the great temples and tombs of the kings. Though the literature is extensive and interesting, the most noteworthy work of this most ancient people is the system of architecture and art which they developed. The industrial world, too, is under a heavy debt to these early dwellers in the valley of the Nile, for many of the mechanical arts had their beginnings here.



A NILE BOAT.

TOPICS

- (1) Why do we not study about the Chinese instead of the Egyptians? Why is Egyptian civilization important for us? Suggestive topics
- (2) What was the first building material? Why does building in stone denote an advanced state of civilization? (3) How do records of early Egyptian history compare with early records of the history of United States? (4) Find in your Bibles the references to the Hittites and the Egyptians, and the story of Moses. (5) Compare the organization and divisions of our army with those of the Egyptian army. (6) Do you know of any race to-day which holds animals sacred? (7) Compare the Egyptian burial of the dead with that of our Indians. (8) Why did the Egyptians trade with the nations of the east rather than with those of the west?
- (9) Description of an Egyptian temple. (10) How were the pyramids built? (11) A visit to a museum of Egyptian antiquities. (12) The life of Ramses II. (13) The Nile in ancient Egypt. Search topics

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CHAPTER III.

BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA: THE KINGDOMS OF THE TIGRIS-EUPHRATES VALLEY

THE beginnings of the kingdom of the lower Tigris-Euphrates valley, called Chaldæa or Babylonia, like those of Egypt, are 25. Dawn of history in Babylonia shrouded in mystery; but full four thousand five hundred years before the birth of Christ, the land was inhabited by a race called the Sumerians, and Akkadians, who had developed a distinct civilization. They had learned how to write, and thus to keep a record of their doings, how to build permanent dwellings, and how to cultivate the ground; they may even have carried on a maritime trade in the Persian Gulf.

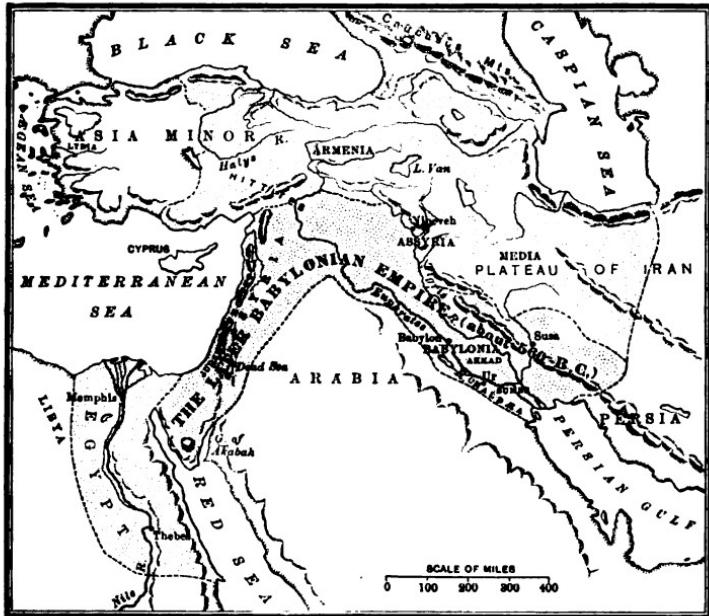
Sometime about 4000 B.C., these Sumerians were conquered by a horde of savage tribes, the Semites, who invaded the land probably from the deserts of Arabia, conquered the people, and gradually adopted their civilization. For another thousand years no sustained records of the history of the land exist. Here and there in that long period some fragmentary accounts of the doings of the people are found; thus, for instance, we know of a king, Sargon, who ruled the land about 3800 B.C. and conquered some of the people about him; but, in the present state of our knowledge, it is useless to try to give a sustained account of the history of the land.

From 3000 B.C., the records are more complete, but even then, during another two thousand years, there are many gaps which must be filled up by conjecture. In those two thousand years, many changes and revolutions took place; kings and rulers followed one another, conquerors — among them the Elamites — came and went or were absorbed into the native race. The one

thing of vital importance during that period was that the Babylonians were steadily developing a civilization.

In 1125 B.C., when we take up the story again, Babylonia has ceased to be the dominant kingdom of the valley; Assyria, the land of the north, has taken the chief place. In 1125 B.C., the first of the great Assyrian conquerors, Tiglath-Pileser I., ascended the throne; year after year he carried forward his conquests, till before he died he had built up an empire which stretched from the Black Sea to the lower valley of the Euphrates, from the highlands of

26. Tiglath-Pileser I.:
the first
Assyrian
conqueror



LANDS CONQUERED BY THE ASSYRIANS, 1125 TO 668 B.C.

Iran to the Mediterranean. Tiglath-Pileser was a typical conqueror of antiquity. Without pity for those who opposed him, with fullness of mercy for those who were willing to

accept his rule, his greatest ambition was to reign over all the peoples of the earth. Full of the wildest animal spirits, he went from land to land, seeking new fields of conquest; yet what he conquered, he brought to the feet of his gods, and thus sought to honor himself and his people.

What Tiglath-Pileser built soon fell to pieces, and then followed two hundred years during which the history of Assyria

27. Assurnazirpal and his son (885-824 B.C.) is almost entirely lost. In 885 B.C., Assurnazirpal became king; like Tiglath-Pileser, he began at once a career of conquest; soon he had crossed the Euphrates and proceeded into

Records of the Past, 1st ser. III. p. 72 Syria. "All the kings of the land came to me," he says,

"and embraced my feet: I took their hostages in my hand." For many years both he and his son carried on war in Syria and in Babylonia, but as yet no permanent successes were attained; in the end their glory faded as had the glory of many others before them, and the kingdom once more fell into decay.

Seventy-nine years later, with the accession of Tiglath-Pileser II. (745 B.C.),

28. Age of Assyrian conquerors (745-688 B.C.) begins a new era in the history of western Asia. Heretofore, kings had been content to invade and plunder foreign lands, without making any effort to organize their conquests as part of the Assyrian realm. With

Tiglath-Pileser II. all this changed; first, he reorganized his own kingdom, and then he undertook the conquest of Babylonia and Syria, annexing large parts of those countries to his dominions. He was also the first to adopt a new mode of making war which all later Assyrian kings employed: the practice of transporting subjugated races. Though the



ASSURNAZIRPAL.
Relief in British Museum.

practice must have resulted in untold suffering, it had far-reaching effects; for by it the civilization which had been growing up in the valley of the Euphrates for thousands of years was spread over many lands and among many races.

After Tiglath-Pileser II., the next great Assyrian king was Sargon II. (721-705 B.C.). Like all the kings before him, he carried on unceasing war; yet he was more than a perfect field marshal; he was a great statesman, who chose the proper moment for each campaign, who saw just what limits were possible for his empire, and organized the conquered countries either as provinces with Assyrian governors, or as tributary states under native kings.

Upon his death, the throne was occupied by his son, Sennacherib. War, unceasing war, was still the rule. In Syria, Sennacherib had but little success; but in Babylonia he carried to a successful close the war which his ancestors had been waging on the older kingdom for seven hundred years. In 688 B.C., the city of Babylon was finally taken and razed to the ground; the people were transplanted, and the temples totally destroyed.

Esarhaddon, the son of Sennacherib, is, in many ways, the noblest of all his race. Instead of cherishing hatred against the Babylonians, he rebuilt for them their ancient city, and gathered the people back into the land. In his time, the Assyrian arms were carried even into Egypt; within a few years, he met and overcame all opposition in the valley of the Nile; and when he resigned the throne to his son, all Egypt from the delta to the land beyond Thebes acknowledged the Assyrian as king.

With the reign of Esarhaddon, the line of Assyrian conquerors came to an end. The empire which he resigned to his son, Assurbanipal, extended from the upper Nile eastward to an indefinite line somewhere on the plateau of Iran, from the highlands of Armenia south to the

29. Assurbanipal, the peaceful king (668-626 B.C.)

Persian Gulf. Centuries of war had now sapped the energies of the Assyrians, and in the long reign of Assurbanipal much of the empire was lost: Egypt and the plateau of Iran became free, and even in Babylonia rebellion was rife.

Nevertheless, the world owes to Assurbanipal one of its richest possessions, for he gathered at his capital, Nineveh, the great library of terra-cotta cylinders from which we have learned most of what we know of the civilization of the Tigris-Euphrates valley. For forty-two years Assurbanipal ruled in the land, and, though the empire was showing unmistakable signs of dissolution, within the kingdom literature and art were flourishing, trade and commerce were eagerly pursued, and Assurbanipal might well call himself the favorite of the gods.

Within twenty years after the death of Assurbanipal, however, the Assyrian

30. Baby- realm had ceased to exist. In
lonian and 609 B.C., the hosts of Media and
Persian conquest Babylonia moved against the As-

syrian kingdom; in 606, the city of Nineveh was besieged and taken, the king was burned in his palace, and the population of the land was dispersed. established a new empire, which ran its brief course of greatness under the far-famed king, Nebuchadnezzar, who ruled from 604 to 562 B.C. He it was who rebuilt the city of Babylon on a scale which made it one of the wonders of the ancient world; he it was who conquered the last kings of Judah and carried the people as captives to Babylon.

Meanwhile a newer and fresher race than the Babylonians



NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

From a boundary stone.

had already begun its career of conquest, and within a generation after Nebuchadnezzar died, both Babylonia and Assyria were added to the dominions of Cyrus, the great Persian king (538 B.C.).

To understand Babylonian civilization we must go far back into the ages when the lower valley of the Euphrates was inhabited by the Sumerians. From these beginnings, during several thousand years it was slowly developed till it reached its climax in the days just before the

31. Babylonian-Assyrian civilization

Persian conquest. The Assyrians had no civilization which strictly can be called their own; what they transmitted in the days of the great conquerors to the races of Syria was the culture which they had learned from their southern neighbors.

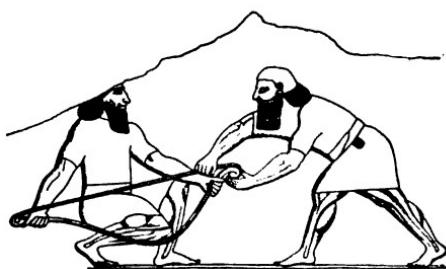
The kings of Babylonia and Assyria, unlike the kings of Egypt, claimed for themselves no divine origin. Nevertheless they stood to the people as the vicegerents of the gods on earth, and, as such, were restrained by no earthly power. Both kingdoms were the result of the union of a number of smaller states, and as a consequence, below the king of the united lands, stood a class of petty monarchs who ruled in their own right, though they owed a close allegiance to their sovereign lord, the king.

32. Government and army

At the court of the king, numerous officials relieved the monarch of many of the burdensome duties of his office, and at the same time aided him with their counsel whenever he demanded it. In the provinces, many governors administered affairs in the name of the king and were responsible to him for the tribute and the peace of the conquered lands.

In war, the king was aided by a field marshal and a number of lieutenants under whom the army was carefully organized. Highest in the service were the charioteers, who usually went into battle accompanied by a driver and a military attendant; their weapons of offense were the bow and arrow, sometimes the javelin. In this arm of the service, only the nobles

enlisted, for the commoners could scarcely afford to supply themselves with the necessary equipment. The infantry, recruited largely from the freemen of the land, was universally armed with bow and arrows; the archers had little protective armor. In military science, in the art of besieging cities, in the transport of armies, the Assyrians



STRINGING AN ASSYRIAN BOW.
From ruins of Nineveh.

were adepts; upon their military genius depended the great empire which they built up and maintained for so many years.

The religions of Babylonia and Assyria had their beginnings in the religions of the numerous smaller states out of which the united kingdoms

33. Religion grew; hence it is impossible to get a complete idea of the systems as a whole. In general, both nations recognized two opposing influences in the world: the evil principle represented by the demons; and the good principle represented by the gods. Of both kinds there were more than we can enumerate. Chief among the gods were three: Anu, lord of the heavens; Bel, lord of the earth; and Ea, lord of the underworld and the waters of the earth. Below these were lesser deities, especially Sin, god



DEMONS CONTENDING.
From ruins of Nineveh.

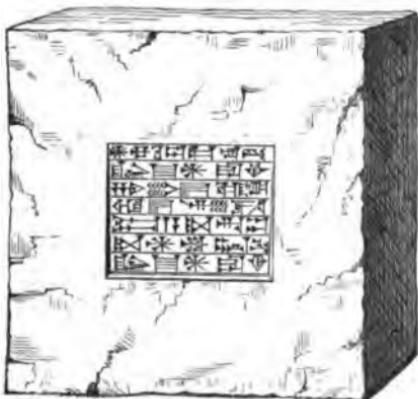
of the moon; Samas, god of the sun; and Istar (the Ashtaroth of the Bible), goddess of fruitfulness and reproductivity. The entire national life was centered about the worship of the gods; to them the king ascribed his successes in war; in their honor, temples were built; every man from the lowest to the highest stood in abject terror before their shrines. They were an ever-present force in the life of all the people in a way that no man of to-day can appreciate.

The thing that distinguishes the Babylonian religion from that of most other ancient nations, and the thing that gives their theology especial interest in our eyes, is the fact 34. *Astronomy and the other sciences* that the worship of the gods was closely connected with the observation of the stars. To each of the greater divinities was assigned one of the planets, and consequently, a knowledge of the movements of the heavenly bodies became one of the primary duties of the priests. Eclipses of the sun and moon, the movements of planets and comets, the relative positions of the stars, were carefully noted and plotted on charts. Thus grew up an extensive system of astrology and astropomy which constitutes the foundation upon which are built our modern science of astronomy and our present mode of reckoning time by weeks, days, hours, and minutes. Although in other sciences, especially in medicine, the Babylonians were far behind the Egyptians, still their contributions to astronomy make them one of the most important races of all history.

Since the Babylonians dwelt in a flat country where stone was extremely difficult to procure, they seldom used any building material other than brick; and hence they never 35. *Architecture and sculpture* equaled the dwellers in the Nile valley as builders. Their structures were often of immense size, but they could not equal in durability the temples of the Egyptians.

The temples of the Babylonians were built in a series of receding stories, often reaching to an extreme height. The walls of these temples were elaborately ornamented with sculpture,

carved on thin slabs of stone which were brought with great difficulty from the quarries to the far north or from Arabia.



BABYLONIAN BRICK.

The king's name and titles were inscribed on each brick.

court; the walls were ornamented, like the walls of the Babylonian temples, with sculptured slabs of stone, illustrating the wars and the deeds of prowess of the kings. From the sculptures we learn much of what we know of the history of the northern race.

The same defects are to be seen in the sculpture of the Assyrians and Babylonians as were noted in the sculpture of the Egyptians. Knowledge of perspective is lacking, and the figures of men, especially among the Assyrians, are universally stiff and conventional, with immensely exaggerated limbs and muscles. In carving



LION FROM PALACE OF ASSURNAZIRPAL.

The Assyrians devoted most of their energy to the building of palaces, but, though in their land stone was easily procured, they never advanced beyond construction in brick, the mode of building which they had learned from the Babylonians. The palaces, built upon natural or artificial hills, consisted of vast series of halls arranged about a

the figures of animals, the artists were more successful; often the sculptured lions and lesser beasts approached very close to the living models in grace and spirit. The most characteristic sculpture is that of the enormous human-headed bull, fit emblem of the vigorous Assyrian race.

The records of the Babylonians and Assyrians, like those of the Egyptians, are preserved both in inscriptions and in books. Their system of writing, originally hieroglyphic, had lost, in historic times, its original form; the new system, known as cuneiform writing, consisted of a number of wedge-shaped characters arranged in various combinations to express syllabic sounds. Neither race ever succeeded in in-



CUNEIFORM WRITING.

Translation: I am Assurbanipal, descendant of Assur and Beltis.

venting a system of writing which, like our modern alphabet or like the Egyptian hieroglyphics, should represent single sounds. In these cuneiform characters, the chroniclers of the kings inscribed on the walls of the palaces, or preserved on clay tablets, the doings of the nation and the fund of knowledge which they had inherited from their ancestors. These clay tablets, the books of the Babylonians and Assyrians, still exist in large numbers. They were originally gathered in libraries and carefully guarded from generation to generation till the very races ceased to exist; and the art of reading the characters had to be rediscovered bit by bit.

While the literature of the Tigris-Euphrates valley can scarcely be compared to that of many other nations, it contains much that is still interesting. The books which dealt with astronomy, for instance, were many in number, and led the way for all future investigation in the subject. Outside of divination, a large part of the literature was purely religious

36. Lan-
guage and
literature

in character : hymns in praise of the gods, myths and legends of their doings in heaven and on earth, accounts of the dealings

of gods with men, all engage the interest of the authors. Many legends of the creation of man, stories of a universal flood, and accounts of the deeds of the heroes of the nation are preserved ; and it

is interesting to note that some of them correspond very closely to the stories of the book of Genesis in our Bible.

In the manufacture of fabrics and in the mechanical arts, the Babylonians were worthy rivals of the Egyptians. Besides

37. Industry and commerce the agricultural population, weavers, dyers, tanners, gold, silver, and copper smiths, and stone cutters formed a considerable part of the common people. Even if it is true that they were behind the Egyptians in the arts of peace, the influence of their civilization on the rest of the world has been greater ; for, while the Egyptians during the major part of their history remained completely isolated, the Babylonians were in constant communication with the other nations of the ancient world. Furthermore, what the merchants could not carry to and from the land, the warriors spread in the course of their conquests. Important systems of highways leading from the Euphrates valley to the east and west were established ; and the Babylonians developed the law of contracts, the coinage of money, banking, a fixed system of credits, and all the other adjuncts of trade and warfare.



ASSYRIAN DRILL PLOW.

From a monument of Esarhaddon.



ASSYRIANS DRAWING A HANDCART.

From the ruins of Nineveh.

In time, all this knowledge was transmitted by the Phœnicians to the nations of southern Europe, and it is this fact that gives a greater interest to the civilization of the Tigris-Euphrates valley than to that of the Nile. The modern world owes more to Babylonia than to Egypt, because the civilization of Babylonia was more widely diffused.

The valley of the Tigris and Euphrates was inhabited in ancient times by two great Semitic nations,—the Babylonians and the Assyrians. The Babylonians, the southern nation, were by far the older of the two. From them, the 38. Summary Assyrians learned nearly everything that they transmitted to the western world, in the age of the great conquerors from Tiglath-Pileser I. to Esarhaddon (1125–668 B.C.). From Babylonia and Assyria, much more than from Egypt, the western world learned the arts of peace and war. First among their contributions was the science of astronomy; but astronomy was not their only gift: the Phœnicians and Greeks of later times owed to them much of what they knew of the processes of manufacture and of the methods of carrying on trade; and the student of their civilization is often surprised to see how very modern these men of three or four thousand years ago were in many of their ways.

TOPICS

- (1) Compare the early history of Babylonia with that of Egypt.
- (2) Get from the Bible the stories of Nimrod, Hoshea, and Nebuchadnezzar.
- (3) What object had Tiglath-Pileser in transplanting conquered peoples? Can you recall any instance of this practice in the history of your own country?
- (4) How does Babylonian-Assyrian civilization, in its rise and fall, compare with Egyptian?
- (5) Compare the religion of Babylonia and Assyria with that of Egypt.
- (6) Compare the religious life of the Babylonians and Assyrians with that of the Jews.
- (7) What other nations had a story of the flood?
- (8) Why is the study of the industries and civilization of the Babylonians and Assyrians of more importance to us than the study of those of the Egyptians?

Suggestive topics

Search topics

- (9) An account of the unearthing of an Assyrian building.
 (10) Account of the finding of a Babylonian library. (11) Assyrian prayers. (12) Babylonian temples. (13) Ancient accounts of Nineveh. (14) Ancient accounts of Babylon. (15) The Assyrian winged bulls.

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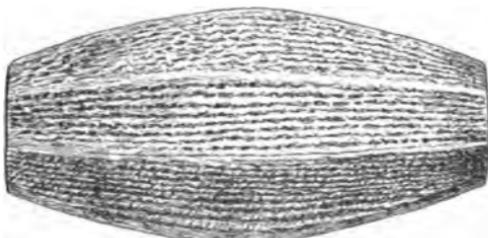
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A BOOK FROM THE ROYAL LIBRARY AT NINEVEH.

Baked clay cylinder covered with cuneiform writing.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PHœNICIANS: THE DISSEMINATORS OF ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION

THE natural meeting place between Egypt and Assyria, as we have seen, was the narrow strip of territory lying between the Mediterranean Sea and the Arabian desert. In this land lived a number of Semitic tribes, two of which, the Hebrews and the Phœnicians, are among the most important races in all history.



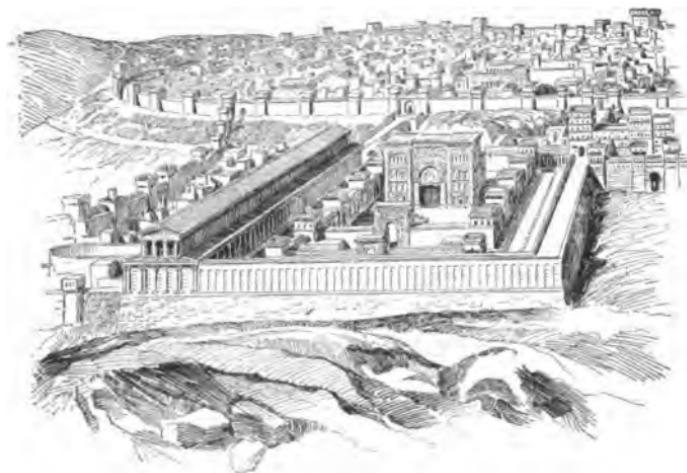
HEBREW HIGH PRIEST.

their way back into Canaan, where they settled as twelve tribes.

At first these twelve tribes lived a life apart from one another, but about the middle of the eleventh century B.C., Saul was created king. Both Saul and his son Jonathan died in battle, and David succeeded to the throne. David was the greatest warrior that the race produced. Slowly but surely he rid the land of all its enemies, and when he died he left to his son Solomon a well-organized kingdom. In Solomon's time peace

39. The Hebrews

According to the Bible, Abraham, the forefather of the Hebrews, wandered forth out of Babylonia and settled in the land of Canaan in Syria. Two generations later, his grandson Jacob migrated into Egypt, where he and his descendants abode for several centuries. Under Moses the people, now a considerable nation, were led forth from Egypt and ultimately made

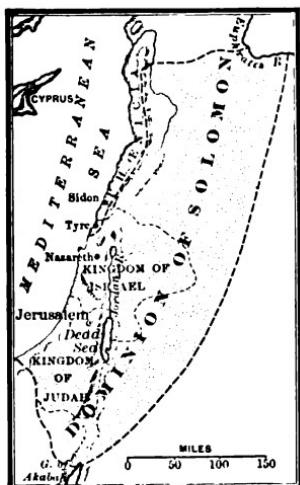


THE TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM. (Restoration.)

reigned in the land and many noble monuments, especially the temple at Jerusalem, were erected to commemorate his glory.

From Solomon's time on, however, the power of the Hebrews rapidly declined: the land of Canaan was divided into the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel, and, like the rest of Syria, finally fell a prey to the conquerors of the Tigris-Euphrates valley.

To this race, few and weak in comparison with its mighty neighbors, the world owes its greatest gift, the idea of one God, the Creator and Ruler of the universe. While most of the nations about them were still sunk in sodden nature worship,



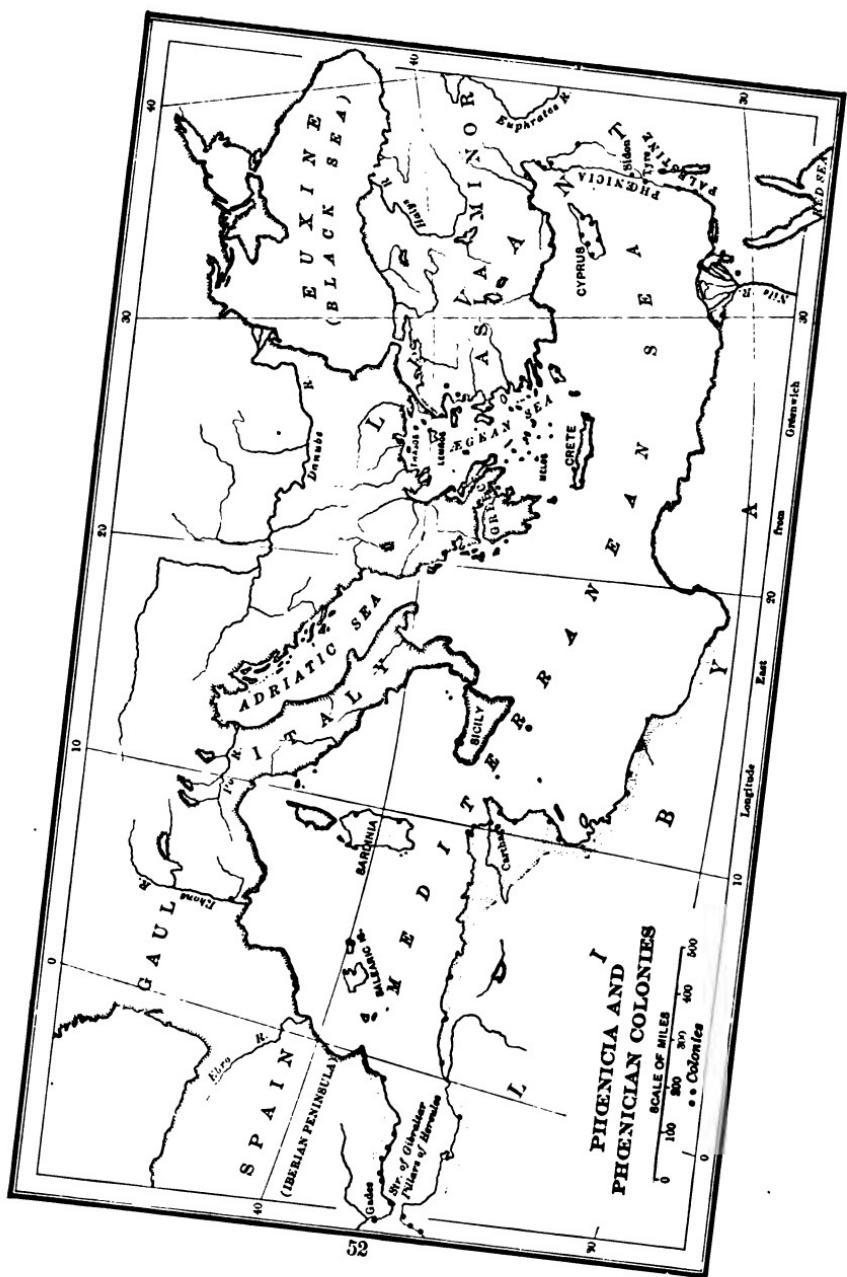
THE LAND OF CANAAN.

the Hebrews had already developed that system of theology upon which all the religions of the western world rest to-day.

Like the Hebrews, the Phœnicians came into Syria from the country far to the south and east. Like all the people of antiquity, they seem to have migrated in small bands, ^{40. Sidon and Tyre: the glory of Phœnicia} but unlike most other nations, they never united under the leadership of any one city or tribe. Throughout their history they existed as separate and independent cities. Earliest among the cities to attain to prominence was "Sidon, first born of Canaan." For a century or two ^{Genesis, x. 16} she maintained her preëminence, and then Tyre, which lies twenty miles to the south, gradually drew the mastery to herself.

In the period of the greatness of Sidon, the Phœnicians had already become famed throughout the eastern Mediterranean as the traders of the world. In the beginning, the people had probably ventured out to sea in search of the fish which abounded along the coast; in time, they became more venturesome, and before many centuries had passed, they were wandering among the islands and along the coasts of the Ægean and Black seas in quest of the many natural products—copper, iron, gold, lumber, and fish—which were plentiful in these regions. Ere the glory of Sidon faded before the rising sun of Tyre, the Phœnicians had established themselves on the island of Cyprus, along the southern coast of Asia Minor, in the islands of the Ægean, in Crete, and along the shores of Greece.

Whatever advantages the Phœnicians gained in these regions, the Greeks, their pupils, wrested from them sometime after the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C. Still, what the navigators lost in the east, they gained in the west; under the leadership of Tyre, ships began to push their way into the waters of Sicily, of northern Africa, even to the Iberian peninsula and the Atlantic Ocean. Gades, the modern city of Cadiz, was



settled by the Phœnicians in 1130 B.C., so the story runs; and from this colony, traders ventured north to the British Isles, and south to the Cape Verde Islands and to the Gold Coast of Africa.

Of Phœnician history in all these years, we have no records. Not till the tenth century B.C. do we begin to get authentic information, and even then the story is drawn largely from the records of the neighboring nations. Most famous among the rulers of Phœnicia in this new period was Hiram I. (969–936 B.C.), the king of Tyre who assisted Solomon in the building of his temple. For a hundred and fifty years Tyre led the world in the extent of her trade. In her markets were to be found metals from Spain and Britain, slaves and copper from the Black Sea, purple dye from the Levant, grain and wool from Palestine, ivory and spices from the east, and linen cloths from Egypt. Here the merchants brought the raw materials of the west, and exchanged them for the finished products of the east, and thus was the civilization of the Orient spread from the Black Sea to the Strait of Gibraltar.

The decline of the Phœnicians began with the great forays of the Assyrians in the eighth century B.C. Year after year, the hosts of the conquerors devastated the land. The Persians soon followed and still further harried Phœnicia, till in the end the trade of the Mediterranean passed from the Phœnicians to the Greeks in the east, and to the Carthaginians, who were colonists of Tyre, in the west.

Standing midway between the Egyptians and the Assyrians,



SHELLS OF THE SEA SNAIL FROM WHICH
THE PURPLE DYE WAS MADE.

41. Scant
records of
Phœnician
history

the Phœnicians adopted, almost without change, most of the culture of the older races. In religion and in art, they fol-

42. Phœnician art and culture lowed the Assyrians closely, though Egyptian influences are to be seen even in these branches of their civilization. Still, they were not slavish imitators; their buildings and their sculpture show many improvements over those of their masters.

So little of Phœnician literature has been preserved, that it is impossible to render any judgment on its general merits. In one branch, however, they certainly excelled: in the description of voyages and the lands they visited. Most famous of such accounts is the "Voyage of Hanno, King of Carthage, round that part of Libya beyond the Straits of Gibraltar,"

Quoted in Rawlinson, Phœnicia, ch. xiii. in which we are told of "a savage people, whose bodies were hairy and whom our interpreters called Gorillæ," and of a land "untraversable on account of the heat."

The Phœnician alphabet, too, though undoubtedly an adaptation of some earlier form of writing, had the merit of such great simplicity that it was adopted by all the races of southern Europe, by whom it was transmitted to the modern world.

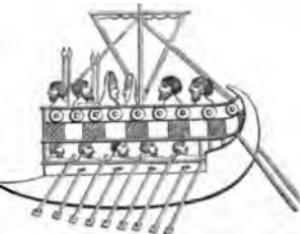
Yet it is neither for their art nor for their literature, but for their ability as merchants, that the Phœnicians are most famous.

43. Trade and commerce Ranging from the plateau of Iran to the islands of the Atlantic in quest of trade, these Englishmen of antiquity gathered their raw materials, converted them into finished products, and sold them again at an advanced price.

Though the trade was carried on largely by sea, yet they received many of their commodities by overland routes. Crossing the mountains by the passes which led into Palestine and the plains beyond, they followed the natural highways into Assyria and the highlands of Armenia; or they turned south into Arabia and Babylonia, going even beyond to the highlands of Iran.

On sea, the Phœnicians were in their prime absolute mas-

ters. In the beginning, their ships were little more than rude canoes; but in course of time they contrived larger craft, propelled by oars. When the wind was favorable a sail was raised; when the wind failed or blew from the wrong quarter, the sail was furled and the oars were shipped again. In this way journeys which carried the Phœnician sailors from one end of the Mediterranean to the other were accomplished in two or three weeks — marvelously rapid time for the days in which they lived.



PHœNICIAN MERCHANT SHIP.

Wherever the Phœnicians went, they established themselves in colonies for the purpose of trading with the natives. Lust for land, they did not know; only so much territory was taken as was necessary for the landing of ships and the display of goods. Consequently, the colonies were universally located near the coast, as often as possible on islands lying a few miles from the mainland. Here their warehouses were established and the shrines of their gods set up; then the natives were invited to come and view their goods, and finished products—cloth, cutlery, arms, wine, and oil—were bartered for raw materials. Only when the mainland offered opportunities for gathering raw materials or for mining which the natives did not improve, did the Phœnicians venture inland.

All their secrets of trade were guarded by the Phœnicians from the rest of the world; yet it is impossible to suppose that centuries could go by without the nations with whom they bartered acquiring many of the inventions which the Phœnicians had learned from the older races of Asia and Africa, or which they had discovered for themselves. In the western Mediterranean, it was ages before a race arose skillful enough to rival these Phœnicians; even after the cities

44. Colonization

45. Dissemination of culture

of Phœnicia proper had fallen into decay, the Tyrian colony of Carthage maintained its supremacy for several centuries. In the east, however, the Phœnicians came into contact with a race which learned more rapidly; in Greece, they found a people who were eager to adopt all the arts and civilization which the Phœnicians themselves had learned from earlier

teachers. By the tenth century B.C. the greatness of Phœnicia had passed; but the Semitic Phœnician had taught the Aryan Greek all that he could of the civilization which had been developing during three thousand years in the east; and the task of building further the structure of human

Egyptian Hieroglyphics	Egyptian Hieratic	Phœnician	Ancient Greek	Ancient Latin	English
□	□	X	ΑΑ	↑↑	A
□□	□□	ΛΛ	ΞΞ	F	E
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DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALPHABET.

knowledge was resigned to a race newer and more progressive even than the clever Phœnicians.

The history of Phœnicia is the history of the dissemination of oriental civilization throughout the west, a work in which

46. Summary the citizens of Sidon and Tyre took the most active part.

The first great navigators, they were also the first great traders. The merchants of these two cities ranged the earth in search of trade, carrying with them the civilization of the east; teaching, unwillingly enough, the races with whom they traded the wisdom which the men of the Orient had learned in the ages past. Of all their pupils, the Greeks were the most apt; by the tenth century B.C., they, and not the Phœnicians, were masters of the trade of the eastern Mediterranean; they, and not the Phœnicians, had become the teachers. Henceforth, our story is the story of how these

Greeks developed what they had learned from their former masters.

TOPICS

- (1) What does the Bible say about the Phœnicians ; about Solomon ; about Tyre ? (2) Why did city republics thrive in Phœnicia and not in Babylonia and Assyria ? (3) What did the Phœnicians do differently from the Babylonians and Assyrians which makes their history of importance to the world ? (4) With what modern nation can you compare the Phœnicians ? What are the points of similarity ? (5) What means of conveyance did the Phœnicians use on overland routes ? (6) How do modern ships sail against the wind ? (7) If other nations had derived nothing from the Phœnicians, should we be interested in their history ? Give your reasons.
- (8) Traces of the Phœnicians in Britain. (9) Phœnician settlements in Spain. (10) Origin of the Phœnician alphabet. (11) The origin of glass making. (12) The principal products of Phœnicia. (13) Where was Ophir ? (14) The captivity of the Jews at Babylon. (15) The sojourn of the Jews in Egypt, and their flight.

Suggestive topics

Search topics

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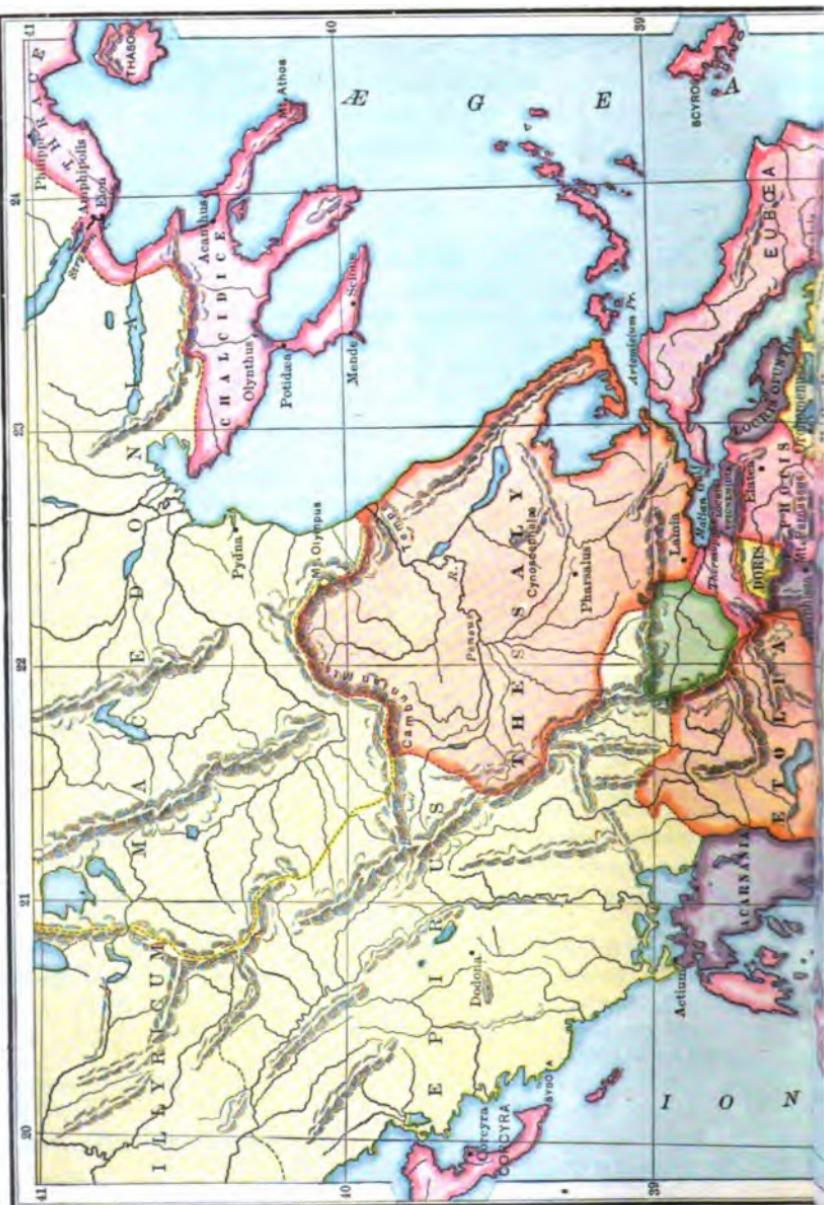
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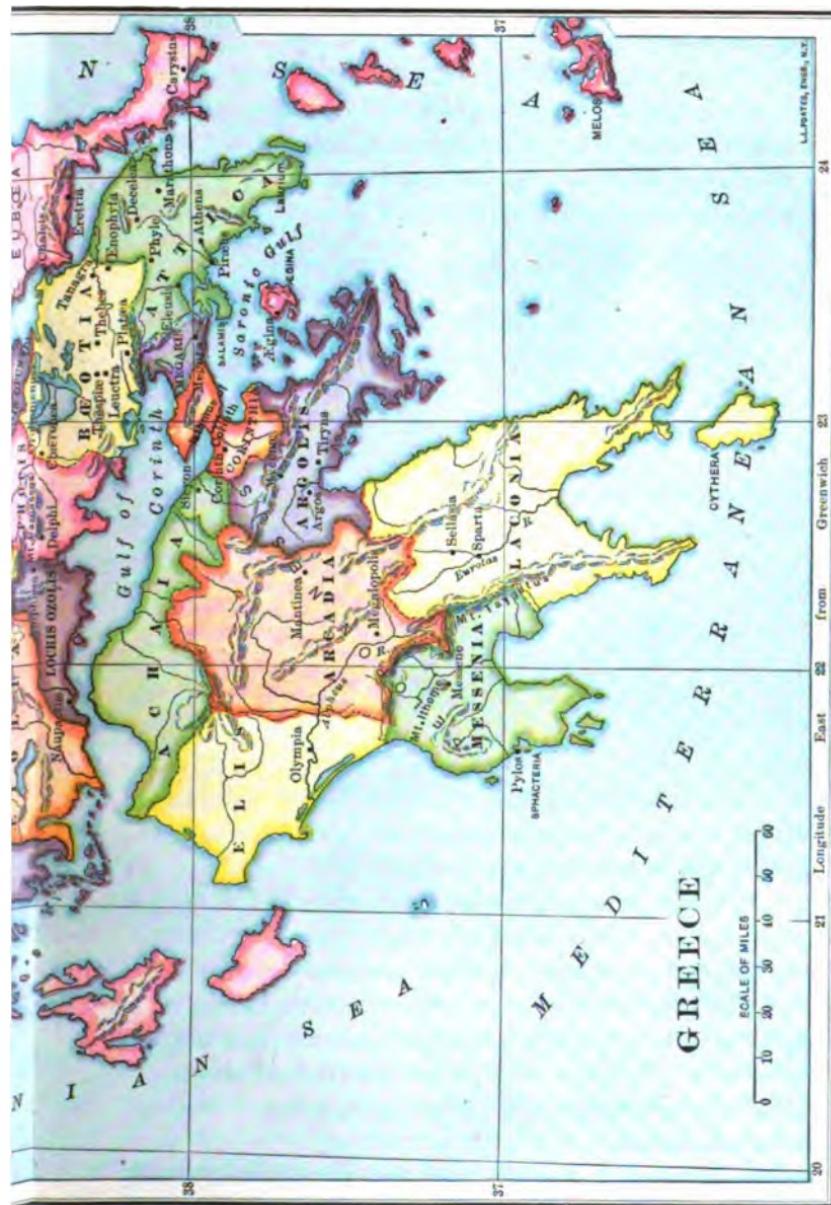
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CHAPTER V. THE DAWN OF GREEK CIVILIZATION

BEYOND the Ægean Sea, all but connected with Asia Minor by numerous islands, lies the country which we are next to study. If we hope to understand the history of this wonderful country, we must not for a moment forget these 47. The land of the Greeks islands: though many of them are barren, they are so near together that the sailor may still run from Asia to Europe without losing sight of land; and, in antiquity, visible landmarks were almost essential for navigation.

Greece itself, though no two points in its whole area lie farther apart than New York and Boston, is one of the most diversified countries in the world. It is so penetrated by arms of the sea that it has been described as "a mountain country up to its knees in water." The peninsula is cut off from the lands to the north by the Cambunian Mountains, which rise to their greatest height near their eastern end in the peak known as Mount Olympus, the traditional home of the Greek gods. Almost at the foot of the peak is the Vale of Tempe, a great mountain gorge, the most important entrance to Greece, and therefore the key to the country by land.

The peninsula is divided by nature into three parts: northern, central, and southern Greece. In the north, the only important country is Thessaly, a rich, well-watered plain inclosed by mountains. From Thessaly the road to central Greece ran through the narrow pass of Thermopylæ, famous for many hard-fought battles.

Central Greece, for the most part, is a rugged, unattractive country. In the west, in Acarnania and Ætolia, the people

for centuries lagged behind their more progressive eastern brethren. East of Ætolia was Phocis, in whose mountains, at Delphi, was located the shrine of the god Apollo. Next came Boeotia, the only important lowland country of central Greece. Finally, southeast of Boeotia, like a finger extending into the sea, lay Attica, the home of the Athenians. With but little land available for agriculture, with the sea lying ever at its feet,



VALE OF TEMPE.

this little peninsula was destined to become the chief seat of Hellenic commerce.

Between central and southern Greece is the Isthmus of Corinth, on which were situated two great commercial cities: Corinth and Megara. In the peninsula of southern Greece, known as the Peloponnesus, the chief country was Laconia, the land of the all-conquering Spartans. Besides Laconia, there were five other countries in the Peloponnesus: Messenia, a fertile district lying in the southwest; Elis, in the west; Arcadia, often called the Switzerland of Greece, in the center:

Achaia, in the north; and Argolis, the seat of the earliest Greek civilization, in the east.

If we pause now to survey Greece as a whole, three striking features will present themselves. First, with the exception

48. Signifi- of Thessaly, Bœotia, and Messenia, the country is so
cant geo- mountainous as to afford but little opportunity for inter-
graphical internal growth; consequently, the people were forced to go
features beyond its limits to find occupation and a livelihood for their surplus population. Second, though the whole coast was irregular, the east coast and the islands offered by far the greatest number of safe harbors, and therefore the greatest development naturally took place among the Greeks along the shores of the *Ægean Sea*. Third, many of the countries of Greece were so small and so unfavorably located that they have small place in history: most of the events of Greek history are confined to Thessaly, Bœotia, Attica, Corinthia, Argolis, and Laconia.

In the days before history begins, Greece was covered with forests; wild beasts and scarcely less wild men roamed over

49. Migra- its whole extent, fighting constantly to maintain a bare
tions of existence. Into this country, out of the lands north of
primeval the Black and Caspian seas, came the people whom we
Hellenes know in historic times as the Greeks or Hellenes. We have, of course, no records of the early wanderings of these Hellenes; but in various ways we can discover the conditions under which these migrations took place. Traveling almost entirely on foot, they came driving their herds of half-tamed animals before them. Men and women alike were dressed in the skins of wild beasts or the hides of cattle or sheep. As they marched they engaged in war; no law restrained them; for them there was no law but the law of might. In the intervals between their combats they hunted the wild beasts of the forest: the lion, the wild bull, and the boar. If they settled down for a time, it was without any idea of per-

manent residence; rude huts of twigs or tents of skin sufficed for dwelling places. Of agriculture they knew only the merest rudiments; their plows were made of sharpened sticks; the seed was spread and left on the surface to die or sprout as nature willed; even if it did sprout, the sower had no assurance that he would enjoy the harvest, since enemies might come and take or destroy what he had sown.

Just when the migrations took place, or how long they lasted, no one can tell. We must not imagine, however, that progress was rapid; generations must often have lived and died, without progress. Backward and forward the people wandered, as opportunities for feeding their cattle offered or new hunting grounds came into view. Even after many centuries, the historian Thucydides tells us: "The people were still *Thucydides, i. 2* migratory, and readily left their homes whenever they were overpowered by numbers. There was no commerce; they could not safely hold intercourse with each other either by land or by sea. The several tribes cultivated the land just enough to obtain a maintenance from it, but they had no accumulations of wealth, and they did not plant the ground; for, being without walls, they were never sure that an invader might not come and despoil them."

Sometime about 1500 B.C. "the lordly Phoenicians" from the "fair-lying land of Sidon" appeared off the coast of Greece. At first the Greeks received these strangers with distrust, but in time they learned to appreciate the benefits that might be derived from trade. From the Phoenicians they learned how to cultivate the ground as they had never cultivated it before; and soon grain, as well as flesh, became a regular part of their diet. Furthermore, the Phoenician brought bronze tools and weapons to sell, and the Greek bought eagerly of these new wares, which were very much better than the rude stone implements which he had formerly used. With the new tools he built himself more permanent dwellings;

Odyssey,
xiii. 272

50. The coming of the Phoenicians

with the weapons he easily defended himself against his enemies and the wild beasts around him.

All these things tended to make life more settled; the more progressive tribes, especially those along the coast, ceased to be nomadic, and the more barbaric tribes of the interior were held in check by the superior weapons and the knowledge of fortification which the coast tribes had learned from the voyagers. Most important of all, however, was the art

of shipbuilding which the strangers left behind them. Before long the Greeks began to venture out into the *Ægean* Sea in the ships which they had copied from Phœnician models, and, by the year 1000 B.C. or thereabouts, they had gained possession of the coast of Asia Minor. By that time the Greeks had ceased to be mere barbarians, and had taken their place among the civilized nations.



WALL OF TIRYNS.

The most famous centers of this new civilization were the island of Crete, the two cities of Tiryns and Mycenæ in Argolis, and Orchomenus in Bœotia. On the mainland, Tiryns 51. The new was probably the most ancient. Here, in a stately **civilization** palace, of which the ruins are still in existence, lived a king, surrounded by his nobles and many servants. His city, which lay on a low hill back from the gulf, was protected by massive walls of unhewn stones. Beyond the walls dwelt the common people, over whose lives and labor the king had absolute control.

The remains of Mycenæ give evidence of an even higher

civilization. Among these ruins have been found, not only the remnants of ancient walls and palaces, but also the dwelling houses of the common people and the graves of kings. Bronze, silver, and gold were used in great profusion in the decoration of the buildings and in the manufacture of arms and personal ornaments. The men amused themselves, when not engaged in war, in hunting the wild bull, the lion, and the boar; the women spent their time in spinning and in weaving and in attending to the wants of their lords. Among the lower classes were many skilled handicraftsmen; and the evidence of their proficiency is abundant in the vases, cups, arms, and ornaments which still exist, and especially in the walls and buildings which have long since crumbled into ruins.



LION GATE OF MYCENAE.

These were the times when the heroes of Greek legend flourished in the land. No one any longer believes that these legends are more than a confused and exaggerated tradition of events; still they give us such a notion of what the later Greek thought of his early history, that they cannot be passed without some notice. First among the heroes was Cadmus, a Phoenician prince, who is said to have brought the alphabet into Greece. Of a later generation of heroes, Heracles (p. 70) was most famous: year after year, so the story goes, he wandered up and down the land performing marvelous deeds of strength and heroism. Theseus, another hero of the same generation, was most dear to the Athenians; for to him they ascribed the work of uniting all Attica under

52. Age of
the heroes

one government. In northern Greece all the legends centered about the Argonautic expedition which was led by Jason,



SO-CALLED THESEUS.

From the Parthenon.

a Thessalian prince, in search of the golden fleece. In Crete, the most famous hero was King Minos, a descendant of the god Zeus. In his time the island was terrorized by the minotaur, a monster which fed on human flesh, and only after the monster had been entrapped in a

labyrinth which Dædalus built did the land enjoy peace once more.

As a climax to all the legends, the Greek enjoyed the legend of the Trojan war. Sometime in the age when Mycenæ was the greatest city in Greece, Paris, a son of the Trojan king Priam, came to Greece to visit Menelaus, king of Sparta. By a decree of the gods, he was incited to abduct Helen, wife of Menelaus, the most beautiful woman in Greece. All Greece sprang to arms; for ten years the siege of Troy went on, till, in the end, it fell into the hands of the Greeks, and was destroyed. Chief among the heroes of the siege was Achilles, whose deeds form the main theme of the great Homeric poem, the *Iliad*.

Iliad, ii. 559, xi. 46 Such were the days of "Tiryns of the great walls," and "Mycenæ, rich in gold." All this glory passed away, but not before the Greeks had spread their civilization to the islands and the coast of Asia Minor beyond. In the next centuries, while Greece itself was undergoing the throes of a semi-barbaric invasion, the cities of the islands and of the coast of Asia Minor were carrying the culture of earlier days to a point higher than it had ever reached before.

Our knowledge of this civilization is derived largely from

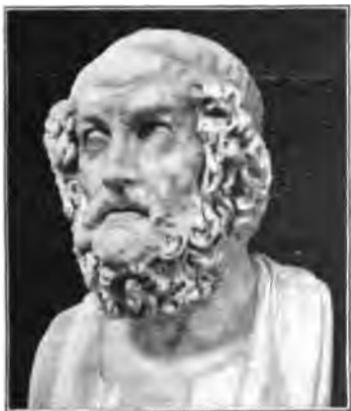
53. The Homeric age

two poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Besides being the two earliest poems in any European language, as well as two of the greatest works in all the world's literature, they give us a marvelous picture of the times in which they were written. In former times, it used to be said that these poems were the work of one poet. Nowadays, it is generally admitted that they are simply a collection of ballads, chanted originally at the courts of kings, gathered together sometime

before the year 700 b.c., and finally ascribed to the genius of one man called Homer.

Chief among the people of the Homeric age were the kings, "the fosterlings of the god Zeus." In times of peace, they sat in their halls, entertaining their nobles and judging between the people. When time hung heavy, they went out to hunt or engaged in athletic sports: boxing, wrestling, or running foot races. In war, they

Iliad, ii. 196
54. King
and govern-
ment



HOMER.

National Museum, Naples.

maintained themselves by plunder, claiming the lion's share of all the booty; in peace, they lived on the produce of their ample domains, and on the gifts of the people. If the king was wise and powerful, the land was happy and contented; if he was weak or immature, rebellion and anarchy were sure to mark his reign.

Around the king, for the purpose of giving him advice, gathered a powerful body of nobles. When the council sat, criticism and debate were freely indulged in; and if the nobles felt that the king was wrong, they seldom spared his feelings. Yet just how far the council could restrain the king is hard to

say; the strong king, in all probability, acted as he pleased; the weak ruler was forced to follow the will of his advisers.

When the council reached a decision, or when the king had some important business in which he wanted the support of the whole people, the commoners were summoned to a general assembly. Here, in the presence of the nobles, the king was wont to lay his plans before his subjects: if they approved, they shouted their approbation; if they disapproved, they howled and clashed their arms in hate and derision.

The poems tell us but little of the condition of the lower classes; still, by diligent search, we can gather enough to

55. Lower classes draw at least a partial picture. Agriculture was the pursuit of many among the lowly. Others led the lives of artisans, armorers, shipwrights, smiths, builders, and artificers in stone and the precious metals; still others were engaged in semi-professional pursuits.

Below the freemen were the slaves. The life of these slaves was comparatively easy; often they were captives taken in war, and consequently the equals of their masters in everything but the loss of their freedom. Sometimes they attained to positions of great respect and responsibility; sometimes they were virtually adopted by their masters and ceased to be his slaves in all but name. Nevertheless, then and thereafter, slavery was one of the greatest curses of Greece, for it tended to make all honest labor a disgrace, and to feed the fiercer passions of mankind.

The relations between man and his gods in Homeric times were still most primitive; each of the gods had his favorites

56. Religious and social ideas among men, and was constantly interfering in their affairs to protect and aid them. Marriages between men and gods were conceived of as probable; nearly every hero was the descendant of some god who had lived for a time on earth. Worship was of the most primitive kind; hecatombs of cattle were sacrificed to win the favor or appease the wrath of those

on high. Of priests we hear but little; though they existed, they played but a small part in the affairs of men.

As we should expect, in a state of society where the power of the government was not constant or certain, the closest bonds among men were the ties of kinship. Next to the gods, a man's father stood highest in his respect. Between brother and brother there existed the strongest obligations, much stronger than those of to-day, when each man lives for himself and relies upon the government to protect his life and property. In case of injury, especially in case of death, all male relations were expected to take up the quarrel and carry it out to its end. Failure to accept the burden could bring nothing but dishonor to the kinsmen.

Next to his own family, the Greek was bound to care for the stranger. "For he thought it great blame in his heart that a stranger should stand long at his gates," as Homer says. For days at a time, the stranger might accept the hospitality of his host, and when he departed, if he was pleasing to the lord of the house, he was sent on his way with many gifts.

Odyssey, i. 119
The women, if we may believe the minstrels who sang of their ways, were as highly esteemed as the men. They were allowed the greatest freedom; they mingled with the men at feasts; they were allowed to go and come as they pleased; their counsel and advice was sought and heeded on many occasions. Yet their primary duties were purely domestic: even



ZEUS.
Vatican Museum, Rome.

the highest busied themselves with the simplest household affairs. Thus, the daughter of the king goes out with her handmaidens, "taking the goodly raiment to the river to wash," while her mother rests "by the hearth, with her women, her handmaidens, spinning the yarn of sea-purple stain."

While the cities and states of the islands and

57. Dorian Asia Minor were invasion living the life we

have just described, the states of Greece proper were torn asunder by the invasion of semi-barbaric Hellenic tribes known as the Dorians, who came from northern Thessaly, and who claimed Heracles as the ancestor of their leaders.

Of the wanderings, of the settlements of the conquering Dorians, nothing is known but the little which tradition has preserved. The legends of the conquest are filled with marvelous tales of strength, of deadly combats, and of the interference of heroes and gods; still, out of the mass of tradition we can gather enough of truth to make certain that sometime about 1100 or 1000 B.C. these tribes of the north slowly moved into the more settled districts of the south, overturning many kingdoms, gathering into their hosts many of the less civilized inland tribes, till, in the end, they entered the Peloponnesus. Here the struggle was fiercer than anywhere else; but the Dorians prevailed, the older kingdoms disappeared, and new kingdoms were established in their place. The net result of



HERACLES AND ATLAS.

From Olympia.—Heracles is holding the earth on his shoulders while Atlas brings him the golden apples of the Hesperides.

the migration had been to upset all the old conditions, and from the time of the Dorian migration we may date the founding of permanent states in Greece.

The land of Greece was by nature divided into three parts: northern, central, and southern Greece. In the north, Thessaly was the only important country; in the center, Phocis, Boeotia, Attica, and Megaris; in the south, Corinthia, Argolis, and Laconia.

58. Summary
Into this land, far back in the ages, the Hellenes or Greeks wandered from the regions beyond the Black Sea. For centuries these tribes led a nomadic life, till the Phœnicians came and taught them the arts of civilization. The pupils soon outstripped the masters, and the Greeks of the days of Tiryns and Mycenæ became the masters of the *Æ*gean Sea and the coast of Asia Minor beyond.

On the mainland this early civilization passed away almost entirely before the Dorian invasion; in the islands and Asia Minor, however, it was preserved, and thither, as we shall see, the Greeks of later times went for their inspiration in art and literature.

TOPICS

- (1) Would Greek history have been very different if the islands had been to the west of Greece? (2) What difference in the pursuits of the people did the physical conditions of Attica and Boeotia make? (3) Why was the Peloponnesus divided into so many states? (4) How did the organization of the early Hellenes compare with that of the American Indian? (5) What importance have the legends in Greek history? Study some of the stories in detail in a Greek mythology. (6) Compare the government of the Greek states as shown in the Homeric poems with that of an American city. (7) In what way did the slavery in Homeric times differ from the former negro slavery in the United States? (8) How did the Greek religion of Homeric times differ from that of the Babylonians and Assyrians? (9) Who protected the individual from wrong in Homeric times? Who does it to-day?

Account for the difference. (10) How does the position of women in Homeric times compare with their position now?

Search topics

(11) Modern accounts of travels in the Peloponnesus. (12) Discoveries at Tiryns. (13) Discoveries at Mycenæ. (14) Discoveries at Troy. (15) Homer's account of the life in palaces. (16) Sea life in Homeric times.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE UNIFICATION OF GREECE AND THE COLONIZATION OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

By the ninth century B.C. the Dorian migrations were over, and the old order of things had passed away in Greece. New tribes and new states had taken the place of the old. All Greek communities, with the exception of those of Thessaly and the more backward tribes of the west, had as their unit the so-called city-state. This unit consisted usually of a walled or easily defensible town and the territory in its immediate vicinity. The people lived within the town, going forth each day to cultivate their fields or embarking on the sea in pursuit of trade. Every citizen—the number was usually very small—took a personal interest in the government; every man, by a fiction of a common ancestor, considered all his fellow-townersmen as his kinsmen; and in general, political life was much more intimate and personal than anything with which we are acquainted in modern times.

59. Unit of
Greek polit-
ical life

From the eighth century onward, the constant tendency in Greece was toward larger and larger political unions; to some extent, in some parts of the peninsula, such unions were at length perfected; but never, as we shall see, did the people succeed in finding a common ground on which all Greece could unite under one government; and in this one weakness lies the secret of the failure in Greek political life.

Boeotia, consisting as it does of one large plain, seemed to offer excellent opportunities for a political union; but from the earliest times there had existed in the land a number of important cities, each of which aspired to supremacy over all the others. In the Mycenæan age, Orchomenus led the

60. Boeo-
tian League

other cities, extending its influence by commerce and alliances far beyond the limits of Bœotia; but in the succeeding age, Thebes, the city said to have been founded by Cadmus, gradually grew to be the rival of Orchomenus and in the end prevailed against her. Thebes, however, never succeeded completely in subjecting the other cities or establishing any relation with them except that of a loose confederation.

About the same time that Cadmus founded Thebes, legend tells us that the

61. The unification of Attica hero Cecrops, coming out of Egypt into Attica, founded a city on one of the hills near the Saronic Gulf,

which later on, in honor of the goddess Athene, received the name of Athens. But Athens was only one among the cities of Attica; in the valleys and on the hills there existed many hostile towns, and strife between these settlements was constant. For many years the fight for supremacy went on;

Thucydides, “but when Theseus came to the

ii. 15 throne in Athens, he, being a powerful as well as a wise ruler, among other improvements in his administration, dissolved the separate councils and governments, and united the inhabitants of all Attica in the present city, establishing one council and one town hall. The inhabitants continued to live on their own lands, but he compelled them to resort to Athens as their metropolis, and henceforth they were all inscribed on the rolls of her citizens.”

That this was the work of one man, that the man was the mythical hero Theseus, we need not believe; nevertheless,



ATHENE.

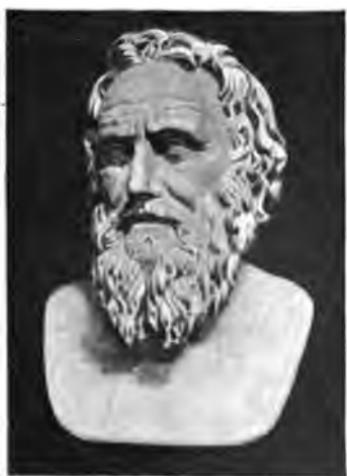
National Museum, Athens;
a copy of the statue by
Phidias in the Parthenon.

the fact remains that sometime before the beginning of the seventh century B.C. all Attica had been united under the leadership of Athens. Henceforward, the whole country acted as a unit in all political affairs.

In the Peloponnesus, the greatest civilization in the Mycenaean age had existed in Argolis; and the Dorians there were evidently not averse to accepting the civilization of the conquered race, and under Phidion (about 770 B.C.), the greatest of the kings of Argos, the power of that city was extended over the whole of northern Peloponnesus.

62. Two
Dorian
heroes:
Phidion and
Lycurgus

The glory of Argos speedily declined before the power of her greater neighbor, Sparta. Of the early history of the city, practically nothing is known; even the legends give us but little insight into the real state of affairs. Then, suddenly, about 800 B.C., Lycurgus appears on the scene. Of his life,



"LYCURGUS."

National Museum, Naples.

Plutarch says, "there is so much uncertainty in the accounts which the historians have left us, that scarcely anything is asserted by one of them which is not called into question or contradicted by the others."

According to the generally accepted tradition, Lycurgus traveled through many lands, learning much about the laws and customs of the people. While he was gone things did not prosper in Sparta, and, consequently, when he returned,

"he applied himself, Plutarch,
without loss of time, to a thorough reformation, and re- Lycurgus solved to change the whole face of the commonwealth." Probably

the Spartan constitution was a gradual growth rather than the work of one man; but whether all the reforms attributed to Lycurgus were made by him or not, from the beginning of the eighth century the Spartans lived under a constitution which was unique in all Greece.

The population of the lands under Spartan rule consisted of three classes. The highest were the Dorian conquerors; to them

63. Spartan constitution were confined all the privileges of the government, but, at the same time, they alone were bound by the regulations which were devised for building up the military power of

the state. Below them came the Perioeci, a class of free residents who owed the state certain obligations, such as paying taxes and serving in the army, but beyond this were free to live as they pleased. Lowest of all were the Helots, who had no privileges which the Spartans were bound to respect; they had no personal liberty, they were assigned to certain farms, and were forced to perform such menial services as the free Spartans scorned. They differed from modern slaves only in this, that they had no personal master, that they belonged to the state and were forced to serve in the army.

At the head of the government stood two kings, whose powers in early times were considerable. According to Herodotus, they were originally chiefs in war, heads of the state in times of peace, and high priests of the gods. Yet in course of time, whether because they were constantly away from home on military expeditions, or because the Spartans wished to curb their power, the kings were largely superseded by a new magistracy, the board of five Ephors. These magistrates were chiefly concerned with the administration of home affairs; to the kings still remained their powers as leaders of the army in war.

Neither kings nor ephors were free to act as they pleased; their functions were carefully limited by a council of elders, the *Gerousia*, consisting of twenty-eight members over sixty

years of age. This council, elected by the general assembly, aided the magistrates in the discharge of their duties, prepared the laws for the consideration of the assembly, and in general exercised a careful supervision over all the affairs of the government.

The general assembly, the *Agora*, consisted of all Spartans over thirty years of age who had not forfeited their rights of citizenship. The body was convoked to act on questions of peace and war, and on all questions of general policy; but, as



SPARTA AND MT. TAYGETUS.

in all early assemblies, the members had no right of debate: they had to content themselves with recording their votes.

All institutions in Sparta looked toward the training of citizens for war. With this in view, every child, immediately on its birth, was submitted to the elders for examination. **64. Spartan training** If the child gave no evidences of serious weakness, it was returned to its mother; if it was weak or sickly, it was carried out to perish on the side of Mount Taygetus. At seven, all boys were forced to leave their mothers and were organized in companies under tutors, whose business was to train them in military exercises. The girls were similarly

trained, though in their case the purpose was the development of healthy bodies rather than any specific military end. At eighteen, the training of the boys was over; now they joined a mess or club, the *syssitia*, where they associated with the men in military exercises and ate their meals. Of home life nothing was known till the man reached the age of thirty. With such a system, though they stunted every other side of life, the Spartans early developed the greatest war power in Greece, for their whole state was one great military camp.

Sometime early in the eighth century the Spartans began to assert their ascendancy over the surrounding states. First they

65. Growth of the Peloponnesian League extended their borders till their state reached the mouth of the Eurotas River, and from about 750 B.C. the terms Sparta and Laconia (or Lacedæmon) became synonymous.

In the last half of the century, they found a cause for a quarrel with their neighbors on the west, the Messenians, and for about twenty years a fierce struggle raged between the two states, till at last the Messenians were forced to acknowledge the Spartans as their masters. Three generations passed and then the war broke out afresh; the Messenians tried to throw off the yoke, but in vain. Many are the marvelous tales of their cunning and bravery; but naught availed them; in the end they were again subdued and reduced to the condition of Helots, and Messenia ceased to exist as a separate country.

Next the Spartans turned their attention to the north. In Arcadia, owing to the wild character of the country, they never succeeded in gaining more than a nominal hegemony. Farther to the north, by interfering in the quarrels in Elis and Achaia, they succeeded better. Argos alone, of all the cities of the Peloponnesus, stoutly resisted the advance of the conquerors; though often terribly punished, she maintained her independence to the last.

Holding absolute supremacy in southern Peloponnesus, and the hegemony over the northern states, Sparta had no mili-

tary rival in all Greece. All these states were loosely organized in the Peloponnesian League with Sparta at its head. To the league, each state owed a strict military allegiance; otherwise, each was free to act as it pleased.

Thus some groups of states early tended toward political unity. Of far greater influence upon the unity of the whole land, however, were the great religious leagues and associations, of which two stand forth preëminent.

Once upon a time, so the Greeks said, the god Apollo, wandering through the land, came into Phocis. Here, on the side of

Mount Parnassus, he found a cleft in the rock, and resolved to establish an oracle where

66. The
Delphian
oracle

men might come and consult him about all their undertakings. The spot he called Delphi. From all over the world, men came to receive his words, and in course of time an association of the various tribes was formed to protect the shrine and the lands which belonged to the god. All who were members of the association came to feel the closest ties of religion and of race.


APOLLO.
Vatican Museum, Rome.

Equally important in the unification of Greece was the common festival celebrated once in four years at Olympia, in the plains of the river Alpheus in Elis. In the beginning, only the tribes of the Peloponnesus took part in this festival; but as time went on, Greeks from all over the world were admitted to the privilege of contesting in the games. Nevertheless, the line was strictly drawn; only pure Hellenes were admitted as contestants, and consequently the feeling of common race was intensified in those who did take part. Fur-

67. The
Olympian
games

thermore, the games served another valuable purpose; during the entire period of the festival, all hostilities between Greek states must cease, and at least once in four years the whole land was at peace.

From the nature of the soil, from the very limited area which the land offered for cultivation, from the fact that the sea lay

68. Era of colonization (750-600 B.C.) ever at the doors of the Greeks, it was but natural that they should push out beyond the limits of the peninsula. Such a movement had taken place in the days when

Tiryns and Mycenæ were the great cities of the land; and had undoubtedly gone on during the period of the Dorian invasion.



OLYMPIA. (Restoration.)

If we may trust the legends of Lycurgus and the other heroes, sea-faring was never foreign to the race. By 1200 or 1000 B.C. colonies had been planted along the shore of Asia Minor, and by the middle of the eighth century B.C.—the era with which we are now about to deal—these cities were as well organized as any in the peninsula of Greece. Our task is now to observe the establishment of new colonies in other parts of the Mediterranean Sea.

Of the causes which led to this later movement, several

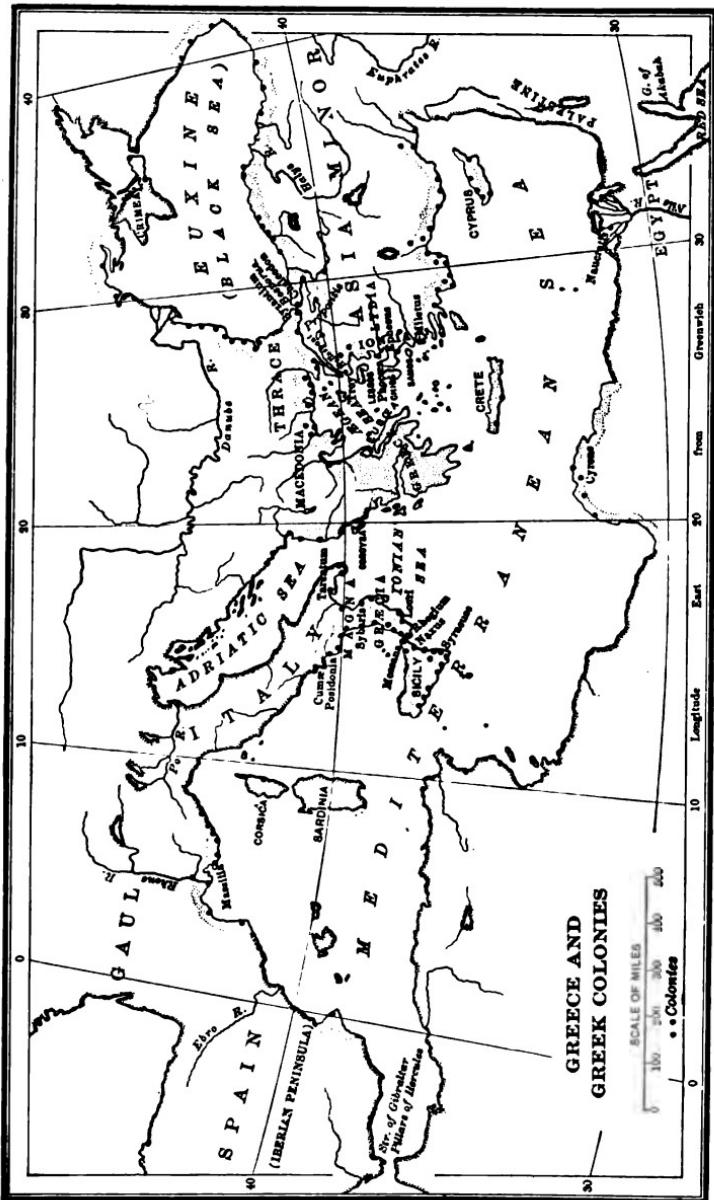
have already been hinted at: the soil of Greece was poor, and the sea was the only outlet for the increase in population. Besides this, with the growth of well-established governments and the absorption of power into the hands of a few people, many men found the burdens of life at home irksome; and, fired by the spirit of adventure for which the race had always been noted, they sought better and easier conditions in places beyond the sea. Another reason which led men away from Greece was the growth of the military power of Sparta, which caused many of the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus to emigrate rather than to submit to the political oppression incident to the conquest of their homes.

Some of the colonies which sprang up in all parts of the Mediterranean were the result of slow growth such as creates most cities in the world to-day. In most cases, however, the colonies were founded deliberately, and according to a regular semi-religious custom. The persons who wished to establish a colony gathered at some appointed place, chose a leader, called an *Œcist*, and in other ways completed their preparations. Before the colonists set out, the oracle at Delphi was consulted, so that the new city might have the sanction of the gods. Not to consult the oracle was considered a sacrilege; not to heed the words of the oracle, a sure sign of calamity for the new settlement.

69. Founding of a colony

When the party arrived at the site of the new colony, the lands were divided, the city was regularly laid out, temples and altars were built, and everything possible was done to connect the new life with the life at home. Still, the colonies were seldom bound by any political ties to the home city. In this respect, they differed from the colonies founded in America; otherwise these expeditions have a very modern air.

Out of Miletus, on the coast of Asia Minor, ship after ship made its way through the Hellespont (now the Dardanelles) and the Bosporus into the Euxine (Black Sea). Here the



trader found fish, copper, iron, gold, lumber, wool, and grain, and colony after colony sprang up along the shore, till, from the Propontis (Sea of Marmora) to the Crimea, the shore was studded with flourishing cities. The Propontis itself was controlled by colonists from Megara, with their principal centers at Byzantium and Chalcedon.

70. Settlements in the east

Along the shores of Thrace and the promontories of Macedonia, men from the island of Eubœa, from the cities of Chalcis



TEMPLE OF POSEIDON, GOD OF THE SEA, AT POSIDONIA.

and Eretria, settled, till the promontories themselves took on the name of Chalcis and were henceforth known as Chalcidice.

West of Greece, in the islands of the Ionian Sea, Corinthian traders were active; still, the islands were but halfway stations on the route to Italy and Sicily. In Italy, Cumæ, in the Bay of Naples, was the first city to be founded; later, the whole southern coast was settled by Dorian Greeks: Tarentum, Sybaris, Læri, Rhegium, and Posidonia, all important cities, were founded in quick succession. In Sicily, too, the Corinthians and people from the other Dorian cities were active: Syracuse, Naxus, and Messana were the result, and before the seventh century was out, the Cartha-

71. Settlements in the west

ginians, who had come across the sea from Africa, had been pushed into the western part of the island. Still farther west the colonists ventured, till southern Gaul and even the wild Iberian peninsula were frequented by the Greeks. On the African shore colonies were also planted. Here Naukratis, in Egypt, and Cyrene, just opposite the island of Crete, attested the activity of the Greeks.

The circle of Hellenic influence was now complete ; from one end of the Mediterranean to the other Greek ships made their way, and it is only by remembering this widely extended circle that we can come to some appreciation of the wide influence of the race, which, in its beginnings, had inhabited only the small peninsula, scarcely two hundred and fifty miles square.

In the centuries following the Dorian invasion, the Greeks were gradually coming to an appreciation of the unity of their

72. Sum- race. Politically,
mary this appreciation
was brought about by
the growth of leagues
and states. In northern
and central Greece, these
leagues had little influ-
ence except in Attica,
where the union became
so close that all the
other towns lost their
political identity in the
political life of the me-
tropolis Athens. In the
Peloponnesus, Argos for
a brief moment seemed

destined to assert her hegemony ; but the career of Argos was cut short by the rise of her greater rival, Sparta. By means



THE WRESTLERS.

Florence.

of her wonderfully well-organized army, Sparta soon outstripped her rival, and before the end of the seventh century, every state in the Peloponnesus except Argos owned her supremacy.

Even more powerful in their influence toward unity were the religious leagues. Of these there were many, but by far the most important were the league for the protection of the Delphian oracle and the league for the celebration of the Olympian games.

While the Greeks were slowly coming to the recognition of a national consciousness at home, their influence was being spread throughout the Mediterranean world by the colonies. Seeking new homes where they might live in peace or trade with the natives, the Greeks covered in a century and a half the entire shores of the Mediterranean Sea, and through their colonies spread new light and new ideas throughout the Mediterranean world.

TOPICS

- (1) What was the difference between the Athenian state as organized by Theseus and a modern state? (2) Do you think Lycurgus made the Spartan constitution in the manner described in the legend? Give your reasons. (3) Compare the Spartan constitution with the constitution of your own state, pointing out differences and likenesses. (4) Why do we not train our citizens as the Spartans did? Do you know of any countries which come nearer to doing so than ours? (5) Would you like to have lived in Sparta? Give your reasons. (6) What political qualities did the Greeks as a race lack? What Greek institutions tended to supply the deficiencies? (7) With what modern games might the Olympian games be compared? (8) Compare the founding of a Greek colony with the founding of colonies in this country in early times.
- Suggestive topics

- (9) Legends of Cadmus. (10) Statues of Theseus. (11) Child search topics life in Sparta. (12) Present condition of Sparta. (13) The excavations at Delphi. (14) Some of the oracular sayings delivered at Delphi. (15) Remains of Olympia. (16) Ancient descriptions of Olympic games. (17) Modern descriptions of Olympic games.

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Illustrative work

See ch. v.



BATTLE OF GREEKS AND AMAZONS.

British Museum; from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus.

CHAPTER VII.

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN GREECE

IN the time of the Homeric poems, the Greeks were distinctly an agricultural people ; though they roamed the sea in quest of adventure, commerce was the exception. Even the Phœaciens, an island people, who gave "most heed to *Odyssey*, vi. 271, 204 ff. masts and shrouds and ships well poised," "dwelt apart, afar within the unmeasured deep, amid its waves, the most remote of men ; no other race had commerce with them." In those days, kings ruled over the people.

In time, the power of the kings declined before the power of the nobles. In Sparta, the result of this development was that the kings lost all their power except the right to lead the people in war ; so that by the middle of the seventh century b.c. the state had ceased to be a monarchy in all but name ; it had become a military aristocracy or oligarchy. The real power was in the hands of a few citizens who were bound by the so-called laws of Lycurgus, and they conferred it at will upon the kings and ephors. The thing which distinguishes Sparta from most of the other cities of Greece is that the Spartan form of government never advanced beyond this stage.

In Athens, too, kings ruled the land in earliest times. These early kings, if we may trust the legends, were a hardy race, but their descendants degenerated while the nobles grew in power. First the term of the king's office was reduced to ten years ; then the office of Polemarch, a commander in chief, was "created to supply the generalship in which some of the kings were wanting." Next the power of the king over the action of the council and over

73. From
monarchy
to oligarchy
in Sparta

74. From
monarchy
to oligarchy
in Athens
*Aristotle,
Ath. Constitu-
tion, 3*

civil affairs was withdrawn and conferred upon an elected magistrate, called the Archon. By this time, the title of king conferred upon its holder only the rights of a high priest and judge.

So far, all offices were held for ten years; now, the nobles went one step further and reduced the term of all offices to one year. To insure them still further in the control of the government, they devised a new magistracy, the board of six

Aristotle, Ath. Constitution, ³ Legislators (*Thesmoothetæ*), whose functions, as Aristotle says, were "to commit the ordinances to writing, and to keep records of them to insure their enforcement against transgressors." Finally, the office of king was thrown open to all the nobility. Thus in the course of about a century (750-650 B.C.) the monarchy had ceased to exist, and Athens had passed into the hands of a landed aristocracy.

In 650 B.C. the government of Athens may be described as follows. At the head of the state stood a board of nine archons: the *archon eponymos* or chief executive, the pole-march or commander in chief, the king archon or high priest and judge, and the six legislators or remembrancers of the law. Aiding the magistrates in the discharge of their duties and checking any tendency to abuse of power was the council of ex-archons, called the *Areopagus*. The essential point in all this system is that the government was exclusively in the hands of the landed nobility.

From the geographical position of Attica, it was inevitable that the landed nobility could not forever hold un-

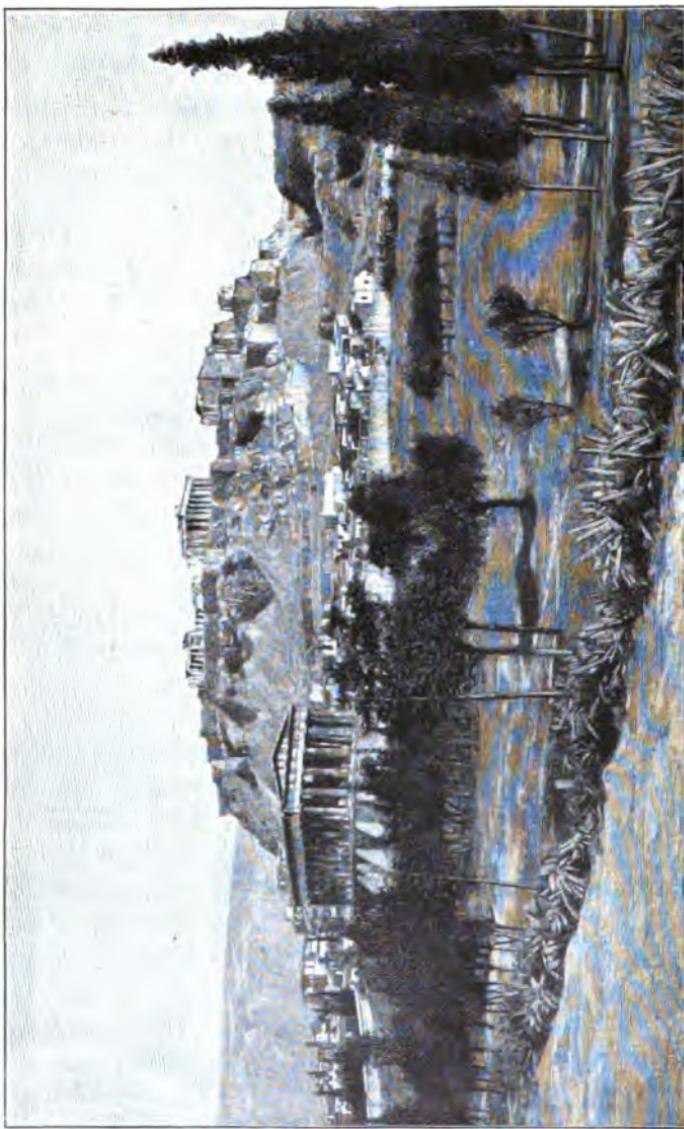
75. Growth of a commercial class divided supremacy in the city. Like all other states which were situated near the sea, Athens took part in the general commercial development of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., and as the commercial class grew in importance, it naturally demanded some recognition in the government. In other cities, as we shall see, when these demands were slighted, the merchants turned at once to the tyrants or

military despots, who were willing to consider their interests. In Athens the development was different: here, the commercial classes, by contributing their share to the defense of the state in the shape of heavy-armed infantry, forced the nobles to grant them privileges which they had not previously enjoyed. So it happened that, by the last quarter of the seventh century B.C., the magistrates were elected "in accordance partly with aristocratic, partly with plutocratic *Aristotle, Ath. Constitution, 3* qualifications."

Then, about 625 B.C., there arose in Athens a man named Cylon. According to Thucydides, "He was powerful and *Thucydides, i. 126*, of noble birth; he had married the daughter of Theagenes, a Megarian, who was at this time tyrant of Megara. In *76. Rebellion of Cylon (625 B.C.)* answer to an inquiry which he made at Delphi, the god told him to seize the Acropolis at Athens at the greatest festival of Zeus. Thereupon, he obtained forces from Theagenes, and, persuading his friends to join him, . . . he took possession of the Acropolis, intending to make himself tyrant." The attempt failed; Cylon and his followers were closely besieged in their stronghold, and Cylon saved himself only by escaping from the city, abandoning his followers in his flight.

The cause of this movement, though the historians do not give it, was undoubtedly the discontent of the unenfranchised classes. The greatest of the evils of which these people complained was that the administration of the law was entirely in the hands of the nobles. However much the commoner might think himself aggrieved by the construction which the judges put upon the law, he had no remedy. With us, though the average citizen knows hardly anything about the law, he lives content in the knowledge that he can always ascertain his rights by consulting the statute books; Athenian law, on the other hand, existed only in the minds of the judges, and they might interpret it as they pleased.

Even under such a system, had the nobles been entirely fair



THE ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS. Showing the ruins of the old temples.

in their administration, they might have enjoyed their exclusive privileges much longer; but as the commoners rose in importance through commerce, the nobles felt their power slipping away; and to counteract this loss of power the judges administered the law largely in favor of their own class. The result was such movements as the rebellion of Cylon.

To correct the evils which the rebellion had made evident, Draco, one of the nobles, was appointed in 621 B.C. to codify the law and modify the constitution. In his code, Draco simply embodied the customary law of the land, although in later times it became proverbial for its severity; in his constitution, he proceeded on the theory that not only the nobles and the very rich commoners, but all men who could provide themselves with the necessary equipment for war, should be allowed to share in the franchise. Eligibility to office, however, was still confined to the nobles and the very rich. To restrain the officials and the council of the Areopagus, Draco founded a new council of four hundred and one members, who were to be chosen by lot from among those who had obtained the franchise. In this way the excessive power of the nobles was checked, though office holding was still bound up with the possession of wealth or of an ancient family name.

The laws of Draco, though they did something for the improvement of the commoners, did not go to the root of the evil. The real difficulty lay in the fact that while the development of trade had gone on, the peasants had been unable to keep pace with the other classes. They were unable to compete with the larger farmers, who tilled the land under better conditions, and consequently they were falling deeper and deeper into debt. To add to their distress, the whole system of transacting business had changed. Instead of exchanging goods by barter as they had done in the old days, men were now using money as a common medium of

77. Reforms
of Draco
(621 B.C.)

78. Distress
among the
peasants

exchange. Money, however, was not plentiful, and only a few could get possession of it; the others had to go without it, or pay very high rates of interest for its use.



COIN OF ATHENS.

The result was that the condition of the peasants grew worse and worse; their farms did not yield enough to keep them out of debt, they borrowed money at high rates of interest, and when the time for payment came round, they could not meet their obligations.

"The poor with their wives and children were in servitude to the rich.

. . . A few proprietors owned all the soil, and the cultivators were liable to be sold as slaves on failure to pay their rent. Debtors, too, as a guarantee of their obligations, were liable to forfeit their freedom on failure to satisfy the usurers."

At this juncture, there arose in Athens a new leader, Solon. Belonging to one of the noblest families, he had been actively



"SOLON."
National Museum, Naples.

engaged in commerce in his younger days, and had learned much of the laws and customs of other lands. In the very midst of the period of greatest depression, when the city had lost the island of Salamis in a war with Megara, and the archons had declared it a crime to mention the name of Salamis, he gathered the young men of the city and carried the war once more into the island. As a result of his daring, the Athenians were victorious, and Solon was hailed as the savior of the state.

79. Solon,
reformer
and law-
giver (594
B.C.)

"And now," says Aristotle, "when the narrowness of the constitution and the oppression of the many by the few had ended in the outbreak of war between the nobles and the commons, . . . after they had long been divided into hostile camps, they concurred in the election of Solon as mediator and dictator and reconstructor plenipotentiary of the state." With the power thus conferred upon him, Solon at once set to work to relieve the condition of the peasants. This he did by four laws: first, a law canceling all debts secured by mortgages on lands; second, a law making slavery for debt forever illegal; third, a law prohibiting a man from mortgaging himself or his family as security for debt; and fourth, a law fixing the maximum number of acres which any man might hold. Next, to improve the conditions of trade and at the same time to give the small farmer a chance to compete with the larger landholder, he undertook a complete reform of the coinage and the system of weights and measures of the land. Then, to introduce trade and commerce among the poorer classes — after all, Attica was more suited to trade than to agriculture — he required every man to teach his son some handicraft. In general, his object was to give to each citizen an equal chance in the business world.

Having settled the social and economic difficulties of the city, Solon now undertook such reforms of the constitution as he thought necessary. In the first place, he divided the popula-

tion into four classes according to a system which had been created in earlier times, in which each man belonged to one

80. Solon's class or another, according to the amount of his wealth.
constitu-
tional re-
forms The lowest of these classes, called the Thetes, had, up

to this time, had no place in the government. Solon now provided that they should be admitted to the general assembly, the *Ecclesia*, where they might participate in the election of the magistrates though they themselves could hold no office. Further, he established the popular law courts, the *Helicea*, where every freeman had the right to sit in judgment on all cases of appeal, and where the magistrates themselves were tried at the end of their term of office. Thus by their admission to the Ecclesia, the Thetes were given at least some power over the election of the magistrates; by the establishment of the *Helicea*, they were given the power to punish magistrates for malfeasance in office.

When Solon laid down his power as legislator, he hoped that he had made a constitution which should last for all time, but he was soon undeceived; complaints came from all sides, and in the end, to escape from the importunities of the people, he left

Aristotle,
Ath. Consti- Athens and went once more on his travels. "The state
tution, 13 was still out of joint in all its members;" says Aristotle,

"some were aggrieved at the abolition of debts, others were unreconciled to the constitutional changes, others still were enflamed by rival ambitions. They formed three parties: the 'Shore,' who were considered to advocate a tempered constitution; the 'Plain,' who were oligarchical; and the 'Hill,' led by Pisistratus, who were supposed to be strong partisans of democracy." Discord and discontent continued, till, in 560 b.c., Pisistratus, supported by the peasants and shepherds who had been unable to take advantage of the laws of Solon, succeeded in making himself tyrant of Athens.

Meanwhile, in Sicyon, in Corinth, in Megara, in the cities of Ionia, Magna Græcia, and Sicily, very much the same

changes in the mode of life had taken place as those we have noted in Athens. Commerce and manufacture had superseded agriculture, money had become the common medium of exchange, and the commercial classes had grown at the expense of the aristocracy. The commercial classes were still living without the franchise or any adequate legal protection; and since the nobles showed no disposition to modify the constitution in their favor, revolutions were inevitable. Thus, in the years between 650 and 550 B.C., one city after another fell into the hands of a tyrant, who professed his willingness to grant the concessions which the merchants demanded.

81. The era
of the
tyrants

The story of one of these tyrannies is the story of all. Almost invariably, one of the nobles, offended by some act of his own class, gathered about himself all the discontented elements in the city, and then, by the use of force, set himself up as tyrant. For a generation, everything went well; then a new tyrant, usually the son of the first one, succeeded to power, and, forgetting the source of his authority, ruled without regard to the rights or feelings of the people. If he lived through the storm which was sure to follow, his successor was certain to be deposed and either put to death or sent into exile. A tyranny which lasted more than three generations is almost unknown in the history of Greece.

Most famous of all the tyrannies except that of Athens, was the tyranny of the Cypselidæ in Corinth. For some time the city had been ruled by a small clique of nobles. The discontent of the commercial classes grew greater and greater, till, in 655 B.C., Cypselus succeeded in overthrowing the oligarchy and setting himself up as tyrant. The rule of Cypselus was brilliant; his main care was the commercial interests of the city; he established colonies in the Ionian Sea and along the coast of Epirus; he reformed the financial system; and he did all in his power to make Corinth undisputed mistress of the seas. Grateful to the gods for all the favors which they

82. The
tyranny in
Corinth

had bestowed upon him, he was not niggardly with his gifts. At Delphi and at Olympia, his name was celebrated for the magnificence of his donations.

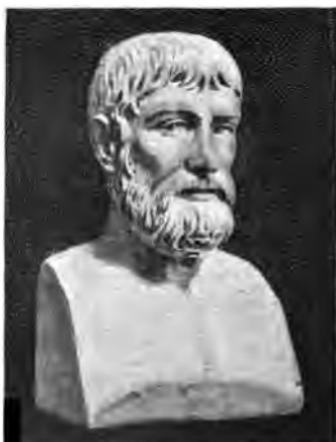
When he died, in 625 b.c., he was succeeded by his son, Periander, of whom are told many stories which picture him as a heartless tyrant; whether the stories are true or false, the fact remains that he, like his father, did much to elevate the city to the position of one of the greatest commercial centers in all Greece. Soon after his death, however, the tyranny in Corinth came to an end.

We might go on thus and tell the story of tyrannies in many

83. Rule of other cities; but they are
the Pisistratidae all of the same character.
(560-510 B.C.) About them are woven
many of the romances of

Greek history in which Herodotus abounds. But we must return to the story of the city of Athens. Pisistratus, who became tyrant in 560 b.c., led a most checkered life; twice in thirty-three years he was driven out of the city, but each time he succeeded in reestablishing himself. When he died, he was succeeded by his son, Hippias, who ruled till 510 b.c., when he and all his family were driven from the city.

To appreciate the good that Pisistratus and Hippias did for the city, we need only quote from the two Greek authors, *Thucydides*, vi. 54 Thucydides and Aristotle. "No tyrants," says Thucydides, "ever displayed greater merits than these; although the tax on the produce of the soil which was exacted amounted to only five per cent, they improved and adorned the city and



PERIANDER.

National Museum, Naples.

carried on successful wars. . . . The city, meanwhile, was permitted to retain her ancient laws; but the family of Pisistratus took care that one of their number should always be in office."

"His administration," says Aristotle, speaking of Pisistratus, "was temperate and showed the statesman rather than the tyrant. The criminal laws were humane and mild, and recognized that circumstances extenuate crime. He advanced capital to poor cultivators, enabling them to devote themselves unremittingly to their occupations. Herein his motive was twofold: to disseminate the population about the country away from the metropolis; and by moderate well-being and absorption in agriculture, to extinguish in them the wish and leisure to influence public affairs. . . . The commons had an easy time in all respects during his reign, for he was pacific in policy, and avoided quarreling with his neighbors. . . . The ascendancy of Pisistratus was chiefly due to his democratic and philanthropic spirit. In all his actions he respected the law and assumed no privileges as a ruler."

Thus the era of the Pisistratidæ was one of great prosperity in Athens. All classes of society were satisfied, and trade and commerce flourished. Beyond the limits of Attica, the city was respected; within the limits of Attica, the tyrants were constantly engaged in beautifying the city and in adding to the enjoyment of the citizens by numerous public works and frequent festivals in honor of the gods. In their government, they were humane; content with the actual exercise of power, while they left to the citizens the semblance of political liberty.

With such a reputation for good deeds, the rule of the Pisistratidæ might have gone on indefinitely but for the vicious practices of which Hipparchus, the younger brother of Hippias, was guilty. In the year 514 B.C. Hipparchus was killed by a band of conspirators, and thereupon Hippias resorted to extreme measures of cruelty. The harshness of Hippias stirred up a discontent within the city which

Aristotle,
Ath. Constitution, 16

84. End of
the tyranny
(510 B.C.)

fell in very well with the plans of a band of exiles who were living in Sparta under the leadership of Clisthenes. By a special act of piety — they had rebuilt the temple at Delphi in a way far more magnificent than the specifications required — they had won the favor of the oracle, and thenceforward the Delphian priests had not ceased to exhort the kings of Sparta to undertake an expedition against the city of Athens. Finally, the expedition was undertaken, and Hippias was expelled (510 B.C.).

No sooner was Hippias gone than party strife began again. With great good sense, Clisthenes enlisted the support of the 85. Reforms popular party on his side, and on its shoulders he rode of Clisthenes (508 B.C.) into power. At once he proceeded to reward the people for their support by still further popularizing the constitution.

His first care was to break up the parties which had so long been the curse of Athens; hence he reorganized the people on an entirely new plan. He abolished the old tribes in which birth had fixed a man's position, and created ten new tribes based upon residence. These tribes would correspond very closely to modern city wards, but for the fact that, in order to avoid having too many men of one party in a tribe, Clisthenes arranged his tribes so that the parts should be scattered over the whole face of Attica. To this end he divided each of the tribes into ten *demes* or townships, no two of which lay next to each other, and thus he broke up once for all the three old parties; by scattering the demes, he also gave to each tribe an equal chance to take an active part in the government, for to each belonged a certain number of demes near the metropolis.

Having organized his new tribes, Clisthenes next established a new council of five hundred men, fifty from each tribe. To this council every citizen might be elected, and therefore every citizen felt a personal interest in seeing that

its decisions were respected. Furthermore, the magistracies were now thrown open to every man in the city, and even men of foreign parentage were admitted to equal rights with men of ancient Athenian lineage.

Finally, to prevent those factional fights which had been common in Athens time out of mind, Cleisthenes introduced a new and curious institution, Ostracism; by it, whenever, in the minds of the citizens, partisan feeling ran too high, the Ecclesia might get rid of one or the other party leader. The process consisted of a special form of balloting by which the citizens declared that a man was dangerous to the peace of the city and must therefore leave Attica for a period of ten years. Such banishment was not considered a special disgrace; at the end of his exile, the victim might return to the city, and to the full enjoyment of all his rights.

All these reforms stirred up endless opposition to Cleisthenes both within the city and beyond the walls. Sparta, especially, with all her traditions in favor of oligarchy, was bitter against the new democracy and enlisted many cities of central Greece in a war for the suppression of the Athenian democracy and the reestablishment of the tyranny of Hippias; but it was all in vain: Hippias was forced to flee to the court of the Persian satrap in Asia Minor, and the democracy remained triumphant, a sign and an example to the rest of Greece.

The earliest governments in Greece were monarchies; in time, by the growth of power among the nobility, oligarchies took their place, and in Sparta the constitution never passed beyond this stage. In nearly every other city either a tyranny or a democracy ultimately superseded the oligarchy. In Athens, the process was slow; it began with agitations like the rebellion of Cylon, near the end of the seventh century B.C., and the constitution gradually changed, till, in

86. Summary

the days of Clisthenes, a century later, a complete democracy had been established. The greatest of the builders of this constitution were Draco, Solon, and Clisthenes. In 621 b.c., Draco codified the law and made the basis of citizenship depend upon the ability of the resident to equip himself with arms. In 594 b.c., Solon abolished many of the harsh laws of debt, bettered the condition of the peasant class, and conferred the franchise upon the Thetes, though he still retained for the rich and noble the exclusive right of holding office. In 508 b.c., Clisthenes established a complete democracy, conferring upon all equal rights of holding office. To the change, the Pisistratidæ also contributed their share, for, in the days of the tyranny, men came to look upon all citizens as equal; only the tyrant enjoyed special privileges. This equalization was the greatest gift of the tyrannies; but they also bettered the material condition of the people, stimulated trade and manufacture, and brought about a golden age of art and literature. By 500 b.c., most of the cities had arrived at a permanent form of government: in the next chapter, we may return to the narrative of Greek history.

TOPICS

**Suggestive
topics**

- (1) What is an oligarchy? What form of government preceded it in Sparta?
- (2) What is an aristocracy? Trace the steps by which the powers of the aristocracy in Athens were reduced.
- (3) What new element did commerce bring into Athenian politics?
- (4) What do you think Cylon hoped to gain by his conspiracy?
- (5) Compare the changes made by Draco and Solon in the Athenian constitution.
- (6) What was the importance and object of the Heliaea? Over what other court was it supreme? To which of our courts does it correspond? How does it differ from that court?
- (7) Trace the history of Athenian institutions through the time of Solon.
- (8) Which form of government was preferable in early Greek times, tyranny or oligarchy?
- (9) Compare the reforms of Clisthenes with those of Draco and of Solon.
- (10) Trace the qualifications for citizenship and the rights of citizens in Athens from the earliest times through the time of Clisthenes.
- (11) What

kind of government did Athens have in 500 B.C.? How many kinds had she had before this? Distinguish between all of them by giving definitions.

(12) What did Aristotle think of the Athenian constitution down to 500 B.C.? (13) Ancient opinions about Solon. (14) The story of a Greek tyrant. (15) Remains of the age of the Pisistratidæ still existing in Athens.

[Search topics](#)

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See maps, pp. 58, 59, 82.

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PROCESSION OF ATHENIAN YOUTHS.

From the Parthenon Frieze.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CONQUEST OF IONIA: THE BEGINNING OF THE TROUBLE BETWEEN GREECE AND PERSIA

WHILE the Greeks were slowly evolving new forms of government and new ideals of civilization, a great storm was

87. Social and political conditions in Ionia gathering in the central part of Asia. The fury of the tempest fell first upon the cities of Ionia, that is, of the western coast of Asia Minor.

Here, since the days when the first colonists had landed upon the shore, a steady progress in civilization had gone on. For, when the Dorian invasion came to blast the growing power of Tiryns and Mycenæ, the cities of Ionia felt little of the shock; and even now, after three or four centuries, they were still far in advance of their neighbors across the Ægean Sea. In Ionia, poetry, art, and philosophy had flourished and grown great; here, too, trade and manufactures had reached their highest point. From Miletus, Ephesus, and Phocæa, hundreds of ships sailed the sea, where tens went forth from Athens, Corinth, and Megara. Pottery, cloth, furniture, arms of iron and bronze, ornaments of silver and gold, were supplied to the world, much as the Phœnicians had supplied them in the days of old.

On the other hand, trade and civilization had brought luxury and indolence in their train: art, poetry, and philosophy were assiduously cultivated, it is true; but the evils of extravagance and enervating luxury had grown even more rapidly. Work became a disgrace, or at least was undertaken reluctantly; instead of free laborers, slaves were universally employed. To make matters worse, political unity seemed to be

an ideal impossible of attainment; every man had his own interests to serve, and could see no necessity for giving way to his neighbors. As for friendly relations between the several cities,—relations in which each should sacrifice something for the good of all,—only a few of the most patriotic Ionians, even in the times of greatest danger, could conceive of such a thing.

Had no common enemy threatened, these conditions might have gone on indefinitely without endangering the whole civilization of the race; but beyond the Greeks of Asia Minor lay powerful inland tribes, whose existence they could not afford to ignore. Among these tribes, the Lydians, in the course of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., gained the supremacy. By the year 600 B.C., they were masters of all the country inland as far as the Halys River, controlling the trade of the mountains and of the lands beyond.

88. Lydian conquest of Ionia (about 560 B.C.)

Under such conditions, the Lydians could scarcely remain content without securing the trade of the coast as well. Had the cities been able to come to some common understanding, the struggle might have been prolonged indefinitely; divided as they were, the only thing that surprises us is that they maintained it as long as they did. About 560 B.C., Crœsus, the last and greatest of the Lydian kings, came to the throne: following the policy of his fathers, he carried on the war most vigorously; first Ephesus, then the other cities one by one fell into his hands. Thus the Greeks of Asia Minor ceased to be an independent people.

The rule of the Lydian king was not oppressive; from the first he did all in his power to identify himself with Greek national life. Time and again he appealed to Delphi for advice; and to show his respect for the shrine and to gain the favor of the god, he repeatedly sent magnificent gifts. Thoroughly in sympathy with Greek ideals as he was, all that Crœsus demanded was the submission of the cities so that he might control the trade of the coast.

The Lydians were not the greatest of the foes with whom the Greeks were to contend. After Assyria had gone to destruction in 606 B.C., the kingdom of the Medes had taken of the Persians (558-
548 B.C.) its place as the eastern neighbor of the Lydians. For a time these new lords of the east had threatened the

Lydian kings with war; then peace and good will had been established between them, and thereafter the two had lived in amity side by side. In 558 B.C., a revolution changed the whole face of the Median empire: Cyrus, a prince of Persia, one of the countries subject to the Medes, raised his standard in revolt, and succeeded in overturning the power of the Median king. With the combined forces of Persia and Media to do his will, Cyrus was soon master of the greatest empire which western Asia had seen since the days of the old Assyrian conquerors.



CYRUS.

Bas-relief from Pasargadae.

came to an end, and Croesus made strenuous efforts to prepare for the attack which he felt sure would soon be made upon his dominions. His messengers hurried hither and thither, making alliances with many other states: Egypt, Babylonia, even Sparta, were induced to join in the effort to check the advance of Cyrus. Several times he consulted the Delphian oracle; each time the words of the priestess seemed to

be favorable to his schemes; but when at last he moved out against his enemy without waiting for his allies, he found too late that he had misinterpreted the oracle, and that his destruction was foreordained. Within a short time, his kingdom fell into the hands of Cyrus, and he himself was carried off a prisoner to Susa, the capital of Persia (548 B.C.).

The Ionians, who had lived comfortably enough under the rule of Croesus, naturally favored him in his fight with Cyrus; and their fright was proportionate to the complete success of the Persian hosts. Without delay, they hurried away their ambassadors to Cyrus, begging him to receive the submission of the cities on the same terms which Croesus had granted them. Cyrus scornfully refused: the time for leniency had passed, he said; since the Greeks had elected to follow the fortunes of the Lydian, they must now be satisfied to submit on the same terms as had been granted to him.

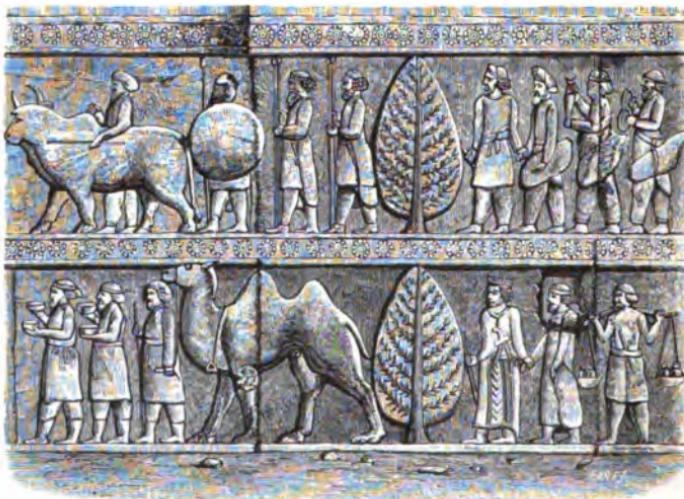
90. Persian conquest of Ionia

Thereupon, a spark of the old spirit kindled in the bosoms of the Ionians, and they resolved to fortify their cities and to send to Sparta for assistance. Sparta, though once an ally of Croesus, refused to send any material aid. Still, for very shame, a messenger was sent to Cyrus, warning him that Sparta would resent any injury done to her Ionian kinsmen. Imagine the impression this Spartan messenger must have made upon the Persian king: the representative of scarce ten thousand fighting men threatening the monarch of millions! Naturally, Cyrus brushed aside the warning, and assured the messenger "that if he continued in health, the Spartans should have trouble enough of their own to talk of, without concerning themselves with that of the Ionians."

Herodotus, i. 163

At the moment, Cyrus had more important business than parleying with these self-assertive Greeks; so he marched away, leaving one of his lieutenants in command in Asia Minor. The Ionians might still have made some sort of stand against the Persian arms, had they been able to sink their petty jealousies.

But union was impossible; Miletus deserted to the Persians even before the attack on the cities began; and one by one the others followed her example, or else fell into the maw of *Herodotus*, i. 170 the conqueror. Even after their fall "Bias of Priene gave them advice full of wisdom. . . . He recommended them to form one general fleet, to proceed with this to Sardinia, and there erect one city capable of holding all the



PERSIAN SUBJECTS BRINGING TRIBUTE TO THE KING.

Bas-relief from Persepolis.

Ionians." Thus by abandoning the empty cities to the Persians, the Ionians might still have retained their freedom; but they preferred individual slavery to collective freedom; the advice of Bias was disregarded, and the citizens remained to increase the pride and swell the revenues of the conqueror.

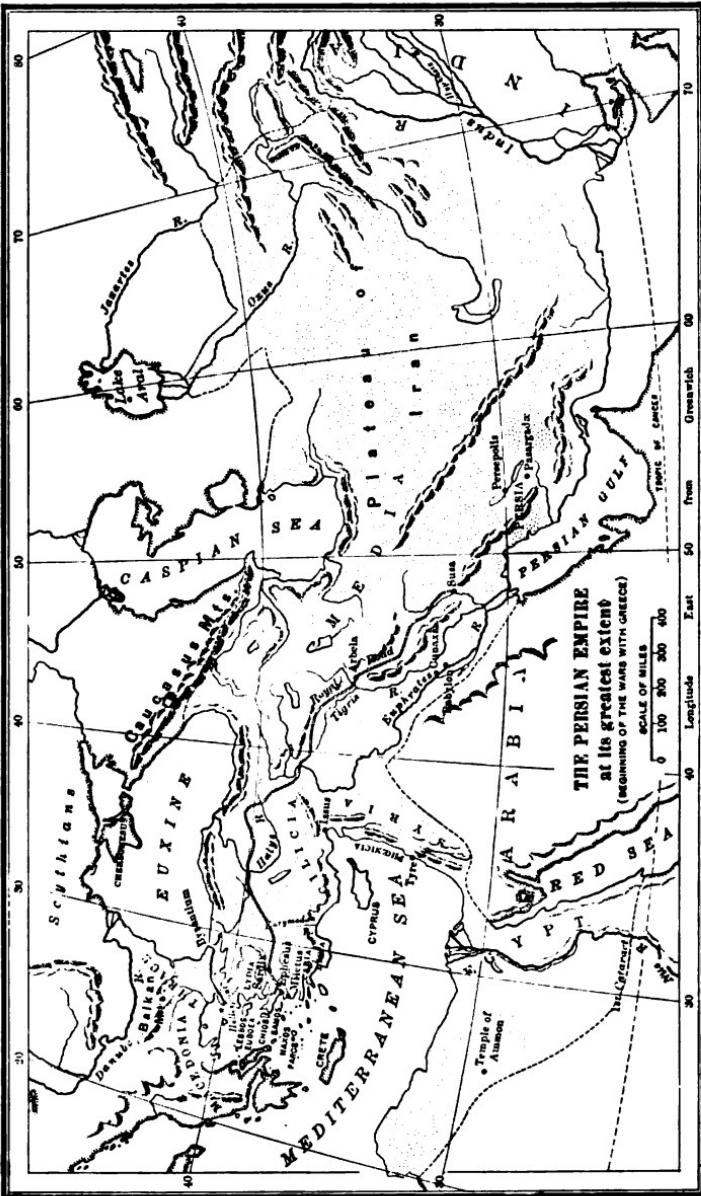
As the yoke of the Lydians had been easy, so the yoke of
 91. Oppres- the Persians was hard. Croesus and his fathers had been
 sion under in entire sympathy with Greek customs and Greek re-
 the Per- ligion; so long as the cities paid their tribute and
 sians

acknowledged the supremacy of Lydia, the king was content. Now the cities were not only forced to pay tribute, but to furnish troops as well; and the Persians openly scoffed at and interfered with their customs and religion; for the Persian religion, known as Zoroastrianism, differed widely from that of the conquered cities. Furthermore, their trade with the east was largely cut off. Hardest of all to bear were the tyrannies which were set up in the cities, where democracies had long existed; and the fact that the tyrants chosen by the Persians were Greeks did not make the burden any lighter. Each tyrant felt very keenly that his position depended upon the good will of the conqueror, and therefore did all in his power to make his rule acceptable to the Persians, rather than to his fellow-citizens.

Cyrus died in 529 B.C. Seven years later, after the short reign of Cambyses, conqueror of Egypt, Darius, a prince of another family, famous as a conqueror, but even more famous as an organizer, ascended the throne. To make the government of his empire more regular, and to secure for himself a fixed income, he divided his dominions into twenty or more provinces, and set over each a governor called a Satrap, who was personally responsible for peace and order in the province and for a fixed proportion of the taxes of the empire. From town to town, Darius built military and post roads, so that he might more easily keep his subjects in order, and might facilitate communication between the various parts of his immense domains.

In 514 B.C., having set his empire in order, Darius undertook a magnificent, but apparently useless, expedition against the wild Scythians, who lived north of the Danube. Toward this expedition, the Ionians, much against their will, were forced to contribute their share of troops and equipment. The expedition was an utter failure and would have had little interest for us but for the fact that while Darius was in the wilderness, the Scythians begged the Ionian generals stationed

92. Darius,
King of the
Persians



along the Danube to cut the bridges and leave the Persians to perish. The generals refused, because, as Histiaeus, tyrant of Miletus, said, their authority depended entirely upon the good will and power of the Persian king.

As a reward for his fidelity, Histiaeus was attached to the personal staff of the king. Though the reward meant nothing less than exile from his native land, he was forced to accept, and to follow Darius to Susa. In his stead, Aristagoras, his son-in-law, was set over Miletus as tyrant. Some time later a body of aristocrats from the island of Naxos came to him, asking for aid against their democratic enemies at home. Aristagoras, imagining that he could augment his power by the conquest of Naxos, secured the coöperation of the Persian satrap in Sardis. But the two fell out on the voyage to the island; the expedition failed; and Aristagoras lived in hourly fear of the punishment that he felt sure would be visited upon him. Therefore he resolved to act before the king could degrade him; he consulted his friends in Miletus, and by their advice resigned his tyranny to the people, who established a democracy in its stead. By an act of treachery he captured the tyrants of several other cities, and in a few days the whole of Ionia was in a flame of rebellion.

The forces of Ionia were, however, too small and too poorly organized to hope for success unaided against the Persian host. Therefore Aristagoras proceeded to Greece in quest of help, and naturally turned first to Sparta, at this time the greatest military power in the peninsula. At first he seemed about to succeed, but when the Spartans heard that the journey from Sardis to Susa would take all of three months, even the most adventurous advised the kings then and there to break off all negotiations.

"Driven from Sparta, Aristagoras arrived at Athens, which city was then powerful beyond its neighbors. When *Herodotus*, v. 97 Aristagoras appeared in the public assembly, he enu-

93. Beginning of Ionian revolt (499 B.C.)

94. The appeal to Sparta and Athens

merated, as he had done in Sparta, the riches which Asia possessed, and recommended a Persian war, in which the Athenians would easily be successful against a people who used neither sword nor shield. In addition to this, he remarked that Miletus was an Athenian colony, and that consequently it became the Athenians to exert the great power which they possessed in favor of the Milesians. He proceeded to make use of the most earnest entreaties, and to lavish promises, till they acceded to his views."

After all, the Athenians needed but little urging. Was not the former tyrant Hippias at the court of the Persian satrap at Sardis? Were not the two cities, Athens and Miletus, bound together by commercial ties as well as ties of common race? The democracy at Athens responded with enthusiasm, and twenty ships filled with Athenian troops were made ready for the journey to Asia Minor.

On the way the fleet was joined by five ships from Eretria in Eubœa. Landing at Ephesus, the expedition proceeded inland against the city of Sardis. Though the siege promised to be successful, the Greeks were unable to revolt take the citadel, and the army was forced to retreat in despair. The Persians, stirred to extreme anger by the burning of one of the Lydian temples in Sardis, followed after and met the Greeks in battle near Ephesus; the Eretrian leader was killed, and the Athenians, deserting the Ionians in their hour of need, took to their ships and sailed away for home. The fleet of twenty ships had served no purpose but to inflame the Persians against the people of Athens, who, up to this time, had felt none of the evils of the Persian conquest.

Though the aid of the Athenians and Eretrians was thus withdrawn, the Ionians were too seriously involved to give up the struggle at once; besides, the revolt was not yet seriously checked. Many of the cities followed the lead of Miletus, and

at one time or another all Asia Minor, from Byzantium to the island of Cyprus, was under arms. The revolt aroused Darius to extreme exertions, and step by step the various elements in the rebellion were defeated. Again the fatal weakness of the Ionians appeared; disunion and disloyalty were rife everywhere. The revolt started in 499 B.C.; by 497 the Persians had gathered a great fleet in Phœnicia and along the southern coast of Asia Minor. To oppose this fleet, the Ionians collected off the island of Lade, just outside the harbor of Miletus (p. 162). For a time, some sort of organization was maintained; but the sailors soon began to grumble at the strictness of the discipline, and when the Persian ships finally advanced to battle, the ships from Samos and Lesbos broke from the Ionian battle line and ran for safety; most of the others soon followed, and the few that remained were badly defeated.

The defeat of the Ionian fleet meant that the Persians were masters of the harbor of Miletus, and therefore that the fall of the city must be only a matter of time. Nevertheless the citizens, driven to despair, held out for three years longer. Finally, when the city was forced to surrender, the walls and temples were destroyed, the men of the city were slain, and the women and children were carried off to Susa as captives.

The fall of Miletus was viewed as a calamity in all parts of Greece. In Athens, especially, the grief of the people was keen; they looked upon the event as a private calamity. To the cities of Ionia, the fall of Miletus meant the end of all hopes of freedom. Soon the Persians swept the land of the last vestiges of rebellion, and Darius was once again master of all Asia Minor. In the general clearing up which followed, Miltiades, the tyrant of the Chersonesus, was marked for special punishment because he had years before advocated giving up Darius to the Scythians; therefore, as the Persian fleet approached the Chersonesus, he fled for refuge to his na-

96. End of
the revolt
(494 B.C.)

tive city, Athens. The Athenians, conscious of the coming struggle with the Persians, must have welcomed Miltiades with joy as one of the best commanders of his day. That he had been a tyrant was true; but the democracy, in its hour of need, could afford to welcome such a tower of strength against the common enemy, the Persians.

Among the Greeks of the later age, the Ionians, the residents of the cities along

97. Summary the coast of Asia Minor,

were the first to attain to a high degree of civilization. Happy in a material way, they lacked, nevertheless, the one essential for permanent political glory, the power to organize and combine. In consequence, about 560 b.c., they fell before the power of the Lydian kings. Some ten or fifteen years later, they were conquered by Cyrus, king of Persia. Under the Lydians, they had lived in comparative contentment; under the Persians, they suffered from all sorts of oppression; still, it was almost fifty years before they finally aroused themselves to an attempt to regain their freedom. In that attempt they were aided, for a short time, by Athens and Eretria; but these cities deserted them, and for five years (499-494 b.c.) they were forced to carry on the revolt alone. In 497, their fleet was defeated off the island of Lade; in 494, Miletus fell, and then the remains of the revolt speedily collapsed. Thenceforward, all hopes of freedom in Ionia seemingly were gone forever. Darius, the Persian king, was



"MILTIADES."

Louvre, Paris.

master once more of all Asia Minor, and was now ready to take up the task of punishing Athens and Eretria.

TOPICS

(1) Why did the Ionians attain a high civilization earlier than the Greeks in Greece proper? (2) Which people of Greece proper did the Ionians most nearly resemble? State your reasons. (3) Do you see any significance in the fact that the Persians were mountaineers? (4) Why did Croesus treat the Ionians better than Cyrus did? (5) What was the difference between the tyrants of Ionia and the first tyrants in Greece proper? (6) Distinguish between the underlying causes of the Ionian revolt and the immediate cause. (7) Account for the fact that the Athenians responded more readily to the call of the Ionians for help than the Spartans. (8) Why was a fleet essential for conquering the Greeks? Did the Greeks or the Persians excel in naval warfare? Why? On whom did the Persians rely in such warfare? Why?

Suggestive topics

(9) The products of Ionia. (10) Slavery in ancient Greece. (11) "As rich as Croesus." (12) Life in Persia. (13) The Scythians. (14) Ancient accounts of the city of Miletus.

Search topics

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Illustrative works

CHAPTER IX.

THE FOREIGN INVASIONS OF HELLAS

ON the day that the satrap of Sardis announced that peace had been restored in Ionia, Darius was ready to take vengeance on the cities of Greece. Accordingly in 493 B.C. he sent his son-in-law Mardonius (493-492 B.C.) into Asia Minor to make preparations for an expedition. A large fleet was gathered in the bays and gulfs of Cilicia; and when all was ready the ships sailed north along the coast of Asia Minor to the Hellespont, where they were met by the army, which had been mustered inland. Together the two forces followed the northern shore of the Aegean, expecting to enter Greece by the Vale of Tempe. Whatever hopes of conquest were built upon this expedition of Mardonius were doomed to disappointment; the army was sturdily opposed by the barbarians of Thrace and Macedonia, and the fleet was wrecked and almost completely destroyed among the rocks along the coast of Chalcidice. Disconsolate and discouraged, Mardonius returned to Asia Minor without having struck a blow against the Greeks.

These unexpected disasters did not alter the determination of Darius to extend his dominions into Greece. Nor, apparently, was he any longer content to confine his attention to



PERSIAN WARRIOR.
Sculpture from Persepolis; in the Louvre, Paris.

Athens and Eretria. While he was preparing his forces in the interior of Asia, he sent his messengers in 491 B.C. to the various parts of Greece, demanding of the cities earth and water, the symbols of submission. In most of the independent cities like Athens and Sparta, the demands of the king were indignantly refused; but in many of the states of northern and central Greece, and in Argos and Ægina, the messengers were cordially welcomed and granted assurances of submission to the Persian king.

99. Darius prepares a second expedition

That cities which loved their independence were indignant at the traitor states, we can easily understand: in a struggle on which depended life and freedom, every city should have stood closely by its neighbors; but even in times like these the fatal weakness of the Greeks showed itself. Petty jealousies were more powerful motives than the general welfare. Sparta and Athens, the leaders in Greece, were not blameless; had they adopted a more liberal policy toward their weaker neighbors in earlier times, they might now with greater justice have asked for the coöperation of the smaller states. We must constantly remember the significant fact that though the fight was one for freedom from the oppressive despotism of the east, the individualism of the Greek race made it impossible for the whole people to unite against a foreign foe.

While Athens and Sparta were busy punishing Ægina for her disloyalty, Darius was collecting his forces in Asia Minor. Mardonius was discredited for the time, and the command was intrusted to Datis, a Mede, and Artaphernes, the nephew of the king. Once more ships were gathered along the coast of Cilicia; but this time, remembering the fate of the fleet under Mardonius, the new commanders resolved to pursue the more direct route to Greece. In the summer of 490 B.C., a fleet of many hundred ships slowly crossed the Ægean, reducing to submission such islands as had heretofore stood out against the authority of the

100. Expedition of Datis and Artaphernes (490 B.C.)

Great King. Each of the islands was forced to contribute its share to the Persian fleet, till the forces of Datis and Artaphernes must have far outnumbered any fleet which even united Greece could have brought against them.

The voyage across the *Aegean* was completed at last, and the ships made land on the southern coast of Eubœa. The

101. Punishment of Eretria city of Carystus, which lies at this point, refused to grant the aid and information which the Persians demanded, and consequently the army halted long enough to reduce the place to submission. Meanwhile, the Eretrians, having heard that the Persians had landed on the island, appealed to Athens for aid. The larger city stood ready to send troops to its neighbor; but such was the disunion within the city of Eretria, that the more patriotic citizens sent word to Athens to withhold these forces lest they too should fall into the hands of the Persians. Soon the siege began, but treachery and disunion speedily brought it to a close; the Persians were admitted within the walls by a traitor; the city was destroyed; and the first part of the vengeance of Darius was complete.

In the host of the Persians was Hippias, who had not yet given up hope of regaining the ascendancy in his native city.

102. Battle of Marathon (490 B.C.) Following his advice, Datis and Artaphernes, when the conquest of Eubœa was complete, transported their troops over into Attica, landing near Marathon. We can imagine the feelings of the Athenians when the news was brought to the city that the Persians were actually on the soil of Attica. Here, within thirty miles of their walls, was an army which had conquered every other nation in the known world. What chance of success had a single city like Athens against such a host? Nevertheless, the Athenians were not entirely discouraged. A messenger, one of the fleetest in the city, was dispatched to Sparta for aid, and the militia was made ready for the march against the enemy.

The Spartans were celebrating a religious festival at the time, and either could not or would not send the aid for which the Athenians begged ; so the militia of Athens marched out alone, though we may be sure that few who saw them leave the city dared to hope that they would ever return alive.



GREEK WARRIOR.

Work of sixth century, B.C.; National Museum, Athens.



BATTLEFIELD OF MARATHON.

The pole-march Calimachus

was in command of the army, and under him served ten generals, chosen one from each of the ten tribes. Among them all, the palm of leadership was conceded to Miltiades, who had recently returned from the Chersonesus. The counsel of the generals was divided ; but in the end, the advice of Miltiades prevailed, and the Athenians resolved to take the offensive. The entire force, augmented by a few soldiers from the town of Plataea, charged the Persian host ; and, almost before the enemy was aware what had happened, victory was wrested from the hitherto unbeaten army.

Without waiting to celebrate their victory on the field, the Athenians hastened back to defend the city from a threatened attack by sea. By their promptness, the Persian fleet was turned back from Athens, and Greece, for the time being, was saved from the Persian conqueror.

The secret of the victory at Marathon is simple : the Athenians had won by the superior mobility of their troops, by the

superiority of their heavy-armed infantry over the light-armed archers of the Persians, and by the vim and dash of a body of

**103. How
the victory
was won** men fighting for their homes against men who were driven into battle. Still, all this does not detract from the glory of the victory : the cause had been apparently hopeless ; only extreme devotion to their city had induced the Athenians to oppose the Persians, and they might justly feel proud of their victory.

Miltiades, who led the victorious troops at Marathon, lived but a short time to enjoy his glory. Soon after the battle, he led a very questionable expedition against the island of Paros. The assault on the city of Paros failed, and Miltiades returned to Athens and was disgraced. Not long after he died of wounds received in the expedition.

As soon as the immediate danger from the Persians was averted by the ever memorable victory of the Athenians, in-

**104. The
new lead-
ers: Aris-
tides and
Themis-
tocles** ternal dissensions broke out in Greece once more. In Athens all fear of the restoration of the tyrants was dispelled by the defeat of the Persians, who had supported the claims of Hippias; but though democracy was an accomplished fact, within the party of the democrats there was a serious break. Two younger men, Aristides and Themistocles, were contending for the power of Clisthenes. If we may trust the historians, they had been the keenest rivals from their earliest years. Though the contrast between them has doubtless been exaggerated, still they had little in common.

Aristides was a man of calm, conservative temperament, conceiving the greatness of Athens to lie along the paths which the city had always pursued ; Themistocles, on the other hand, was a man eager to try his strength, impetuous in action, not overscrupulous in methods, but above all things confirmed in the belief that the greatness of the city lay in building up her naval power. Already, in 493 B.C., when

archon for the first time, he had begun to carry out his plan, by converting the Piræus, a natural and easily defensible harbor, into the principal port of Athens. Now that the Persians were gone, he proposed that the city should carry on the work of building war ships, so that, if the enemy returned, Athens might be able to fight on the sea.

Like many democracies, Athens was not far-sighted. The Persian was gone: why should the state trouble itself about any future attack? Themistocles was wiser: "When others were of the opinion that the battle of Marathon was the end of the war, he thought that it was but the beginning of far greater conflicts; and for this reason and for the benefit of all Greece, he kept himself in continual readiness, and his city in proper training." Above all, he would build up the Athenian navy, even at the expense of the army. To such a radical change, his rival Aristides strenuously objected; even if the Persians did come again, he argued, had not the Athenians shown their supremacy on land? Why abandon the firm earth where the men could fight as their ancestors had fought, and trust to the unstable decks of ships and the treacherous waters of the sea?

Fortunately for the future greatness of Athens, Themistocles had the argument of immediate necessity on his side. War with Ægina was raging again, and Athens could not hope for success till she converted at least a part of her fighting strength into a navy. When Aristides complained of the

105. Building
of the
new navy
*Plutarch,
Themis-
tocles*



"THEMISTOCLES."

Vatican, Rome.

expense, Themistocles proposed that the city should devote the revenues from its silver mines at Laurium to the building of ships. Aristides still objected, and so, in 483 B.C., he was ostracized by the Ecclesia, which by this time had been converted to the ideas of Themistocles. Then the shipbuilding went on unmolested, and forthwith Athens took her place among the great sea powers of Greece and of the world.

It was high time to do something to meet the oncoming Persian. When news of the defeat at Marathon reached

106. The Persians prepare a third expedition (490-481 B.C.) Darius, its only effect was to heighten his determination to conquer this stiff-necked people. Had he not all the lands from India to Egypt from which to draw his troops? Darius, however, was not destined to see the accomplishment of his hopes, for he died in 486 B.C., and Xerxes, his son, took his place. After a brief war in Egypt, Xerxes took up the work of his father.

Eschylus, Persians, For several years he was busy gathering his "many-weaponed and commingled host." Almost every part of his empire in Asia and Africa was put under contribution. Of the number of this army which he led across the Hellespont, we can gather only the most general ideas. Herodotus, to make the glory of the Greeks the greater, fixed the number at nearly two million. For us, it is enough to remember that, "even if very great reductions are made, it still remains one of the most terrible invasions known to history—a regular swarm of locusts which descended on Greece to devour her."

In Greece, as usual, the counsels of the people were divided. Even the oracle at Delphi, which should have stood sturdily for national independence, was either half-hearted in its advice, or openly hostile to all demonstrations against the Persians. Nevertheless, the patriotic cities gathered in council at Corinth in 481 B.C. to discuss plans and to perfect arrangements for resistance. Spies were sent to Sardis to

watch the preparations of Xerxes, and envoys were dispatched to the various cities not represented at the council, to ask for aid. Very few of the cities responded to the appeal, and it became more and more evident that Athens and Sparta and their immediate allies must bear the brunt of the attack alone.

Almost before the Greeks could act, Xerxes had entered Thessaly. All hopes now centered on saving central and southern Greece. An army of several thousand men was collected, and under the command of the Spartan king, Leonidas, took up its place at the pass of Thermopylæ, the gateway to central Greece, and the most easily defensible position in the whole land. At the same time, the fleet, under the command of the Spartan Eurybiades, anchored off Artemisium on the northern coast of Eubœa.

108. Battle
of Thermop-
ylæ (480
B.C.)

Imagine the situation at Thermopylæ when the Persians finally arrived: at one end of the pass stood an insignificant band of heroes, fighting for their homes and liberty; at the other, the hosts of an eastern despot, who drove his slaves into battle with a scourge! For three days Leonidas and his men held off the whole Persian army; then a Greek traitor appeared, and Xerxes was enabled to send a part of his army over the mountains by a less known pass. When news that he was outflanked was brought to Leonidas, instead of prudently retreating, he stood his ground. Still, he was unwilling to sacrifice the whole army, so only his three hundred Spartans and seven hundred Thespians were chosen to meet a most heroic death. The battle was soon over, and scarcely a Greek



VICINITY OF THERMOPYLAE.

remained to tell the story of the bravery of those who fought. On the battlefield, the Spartans later erected a tablet to the memory of those who had fallen; on it were the following words:—

Herodotus, "Go, stranger, and to Lacedæmon tell,
vii. 228 That here, obeying her behests, we fearless fell."

After the battle of Thermopylæ, most of the cities of central Greece hastened to make their peace with the conqueror.

109. Persians in central Greece According to Herodotus, the shrine at Delphi was saved only by the intervention of Apollo, who sent a storm to discomfit his enemies, though why the god should have interfered at so late a date is hard to tell; for the oracle had throughout the crisis done nothing to foster the spirit of independence in the people.

In Athens, the people were in despair; the Persians were almost upon the city, and no adequate means of defense was at hand. In the last extremity, Themistocles proposed that the people should take to the ships and flee to the friendly cities of the Peloponnesus. Some few citizens demurred, but the majority followed this advice, and when Xerxes came he found nothing but an empty city.

Meanwhile the fleet had most wisely retreated from Artemisium and was anchored in the Bay of Salamis. In this crisis,

110. Battle of Salamis: meeting of the fleets one would like to record that for once the Greeks were all of one mind, but such was not the case. Those in the fleet who commanded ships from the Peloponnesus demanded that the fleet should retreat to the isthmus, where, they said, they would fight with added chances of success, since the army which was defending the Peloponnesus would be near to help them. Themistocles and his supporters, on the other hand, were anxious to fight at Salamis because of the advantage which the narrow entrance to the harbor afforded, and especially because they knew that if the ships left Salamis they would scatter to the four winds, and sail away

to the defense of their own cities. To prevent this, Themistocles, in apparent friendliness, sent a messenger to Xerxes, advising him to make an attack at once lest the Greek fleet should disperse and the opportunity for a Persian victory be lost.

Xerxes acted on this advice. In the morning, when the Greek sailors awoke, they beheld the Persian ships entering the harbor. For a moment, they were dazed by the sight, and the Persians, encouraged by the apparent fear of the Greeks, advanced boldly to the battle. The result was, however, not long in doubt. Xerxes, who viewed the battle from a hill overlooking the bay, was forced to watch the complete discomfiture of

his navy. Ship after ship was sunk, and before night fell, the flower of the Persian fleet was destroyed and "everything that had oars put to sea." Well might the Persian raise the cry which *Aeschylus* puts into his mouth: —

"O cities of the whole wide land of Asia !
O soil of Persia, haven of great wealth !
How at one stroke is brought to nothingness
Our great prosperity. All the flower
Of Persia's strength is fallen ! Woe is me !"

*Aeschylus,
Persians,
251 f.*

The hopes of Xerxes were blasted. He had staked his fortune on this one battle and he had lost. In his discouragement, he resolved to retreat forever from Greece; scarcely could he be induced to leave a fraction of his army behind under the command of Mardonius to make a last attempt to subjugate the land. During the winter while the Per-

111. Last attempt to conquer Greece (479 B.C.)



BATTLE OF SALAMIS.

sian army was resting in Thessaly, Mardonius tried in vain to win the Athenians to his side; but Athens scorned to purchase any favors, and the Spartans promised aid.

With the coming of spring, Mardonius broke up his camp and marched south. The Spartans were so slow that the Athenians were forced to abandon their city again, and for a second time Attica was ravaged by a Persian host. Still the Spartans hesitated; and only when the Athenian envoys hinted that they might be forced into an alliance with Mardonius did they gather their army under King Pausanias and send it forth into central Greece.

When news of the movement of the Spartan army reached Mardonius, he at once fell back on Bœotia. Here, after endless

**112. Two
Greek
victories :
Plataea and
Mycale
(479 B.C.)**

maneuvering, the two armies met in battle near Plataea.

The result was almost a foregone conclusion; for this time the Greek army represented a considerable fraction of the fighting force of the land; the terror of the Persian name had been dispelled by Marathon, Thermopylæ, and Salamis; and the heart of most of the Persians was not in the fight.

The end of the day offered a sight which must have satisfied even the most sanguine: "with gore-streaming death, the Dorian spear had daubed Plataea's field," Mardonius was dead, and the remnants of the Persian army were fleeing toward Asia. "On this day," says Herodotus, "the death

*Æschylus,
Persians,
815*

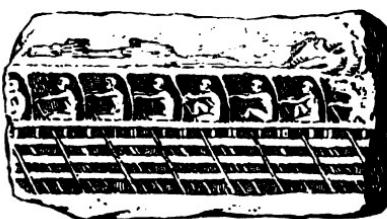
of Leonidas was amply avenged on Mardonius, and the most glorious victory which had ever been recorded was then obtained by Pausanias." Some days after the battle, the allies, to commemorate the victory, formed themselves into the League of Plataea. By the terms of the agreement, the territory of Plataea was to be held inviolable, and once in five years games were to be celebrated in honor of the victory. Above all, each of the allies once again promised to do its share in defending Greece against the Persians.

As it proved, the defensive alliance was unnecessary, for the

*Herodotus,
ix. 64*

battle of Plataea relieved Greece forever from all danger of another Persian invasion. On the same day, so tradition has it, the Greek fleet achieved a victory almost as complete at Mycale in Asia Minor. During the spring, the fleet had been cruising in the Ægean; later it moved across the sea to the mainland, and there, just behind the island of Samos, at Mycale, it found the Persian soldiers intrenched. Disembarking boldly from their ships, the sailors attacked, and before the day was over, the Greeks had scored another victory. Just as the battle of Plataea marks the end of the successful struggle for independence, so the battle of Mycale marks the beginning of a long campaign for the reconquest of Ionia.

Thus ended the attempt of the Persians to subjugate Hellas. As we shall see, the fight between the two races still went on, but never again did the Persians become the aggressors. To most of us, the struggle appears as a blind contest between the barbarian Persian and the civilized Greek. Yet if we reckon civilization by the possession of the comforts and luxuries of life, the Persians were far in advance of the Greeks: had they not inherited from Babylonia and Egypt the civilization of all the centuries? It is only when we apply intellectual and moral standards, that Greek civilization assumes its rightful place. Precisely because both races were civilized, the struggle was one of the most momentous in all history; for the ideals of the two races were so different. On the one side stood a people whose whole energies were devoted to ministering to a single individual, the king; on the other, a people among whom the idea of equal rights among all freemen was rapidly becoming the chief ideal.



A GREEK SHIP.

Relief in the National Museum at Athens.

113. Contrast between the two civilizations

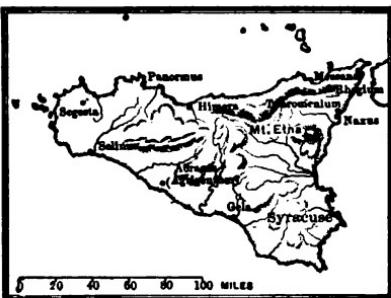
Furthermore, the refinement and culture of Asia had always existed for the very few; in Greece, every man had an inherent right to enjoy whatever good the state was capable of providing. Finally, and most important of all, the races of Asia had already brought forth everything that they were capable of producing: from the time of Xerxes to the present day, they have made scarcely any advance; in Greece, on the other hand, a newer and better civilization, a civilization full of lofty ideals in art and literature, capable of almost infinite development, was still in the very vigor of its youth. Had the Persians conquered, much of that civilization might have been stifled; because the Greeks were victorious, we Americans have a right to boast of our own freedom.

Coincident with the fight against the Persians in the eastern Mediterranean, came the struggle of the Greek colonies in the

114. Growth of Sicilian tyrannies west against the Carthaginians. The power which Tyre had lost in the western world at the time of the Assyrian and Persian invasions fell to her colony,

Carthage. Situated on a promontory where Africa approaches nearest to Sicily, the city made herself mistress of almost all the western Mediterranean, till her only rivals were the Greek colonies in Sicily.

By 485 B.C., most of these cities fell into the hands of tyrants, among whom Gelon, lord of Syracuse, and Anaxilaus, tyrant of Messana, were most famous. By conquests and alliances these two tyrants gradually extended their power till they practically divided the eastern part of the island between them. In the west, the island was in the hands of the Carthaginians.



SICILY.

Sometime between 485 and 480 b.c., the two tyrants were drawn into a war with each other by a dispute between two of their allies. Anaxilaus was defeated, and thereupon appealed to the Carthaginians. For three years, the Carthaginians are said to have gathered forces from all parts of the western Mediterranean; then, in 480 b.c., about the time that Xerxes was on his way to Greece, they landed on the island at Panormus, under their king, Hamilcar.

At first the Carthaginian king was successful, but toward the autumn of the year he was met near the city of Himera by Gelon, and completely defeated. Hamilcar himself died before the battle was over, a self-immolated victim to the gods whom he was trying to win over to his favor.

Thus in western Greece, as in eastern Greece, the wave of foreign conquest was turned back. In the west, the victory was due largely to the genius of one man, Gelon. In the east, it was the strength of a number of independent states which, though not well united, won the fight for freedom and for home; and, though the victories in the east may not have been so brilliant as the single victory in the west, they were more lasting in their effect.

As soon as the Ionian revolt was over, Darius determined to punish the Athenians and the Eretrians. In 493-492 b.c., he sent Mardonius to accomplish the task, but Mardonius failed, and two years later, in 490 b.c., two other commanders, Datis and Artaphernes, were found to do the work. Landing in the island of Euboea, they crossed into Attica, but at Marathon they were met and defeated by the Athenians led by Miltiades. Thus for the first time was the conquering Persian checked by the Greek.

In the next ten years, both sides were busy preparing for another struggle. In Athens, under the leadership of Themistocles, a fleet was constructed. In the east, Darius had died

and Xerxes was Great King. In 480 B.C., the immense host of the Persians finally appeared. Step by step, Xerxes made his way south, till he was master of all Greece north of the Isthmus. In his progress, he had met and experienced the quality of Hellenic valor at Thermopylæ. Finally, came the disaster at Salamis and the withdrawal of Xerxes and his host. Not all his host, however; Mardonius and a body of picked troops were left behind, only to be routed at Platæa by the combined armies of nearly all Greece under the command of the Spartan Pausanias. The Persian invasion of Greece was now over forever, and the same year the war was carried into Asia Minor, where the captains of the fleet won the victory of Mycale.

In the west, these years were also years of a foreign invasion. Called in by one of the tyrants of Sicily, Hamilcar, king of Carthage, threatened for the moment to subjugate the island. Here, too, a savior was found; at Himera, Hamilcar was so completely routed by the tyrant Gelon that for years to come Hellenic Sicily was free from the danger of a Carthaginian invasion. In the east, till the rise of the power of Macedonia, the Greeks had no enemies to fear except those who were born within Hellas itself.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

- (1) Was there any excuse for the states that submitted to the Persians? (2) What was the Greek ideal of a state which tended to prevent a united resistance to Persia? (3) Why did Marathon make democracy an "accomplished fact" at Athens? (4) Did the later history of Greece and Persia show that Themistocles was right or wrong in insisting upon the importance of a fleet? (5) Was the ostracism of Aristides a good thing for Athens? (6) Had the conduct of the Peloponnesians before the battles of Salamis and Platæa a sufficient justification? (7) What has been the last armed conflict between the Greeks and the Orientals?

Search topics

- (8) Life on board an ancient galley. (9) Life in a Greek camp in time of war. (10) Ancient accounts of fighting in battle. (11) How were the Greek colonies governed? (12) The good side of the Persian empire. (13) Accounts of modern visits to the battlefield of Marathon. (14) Other battles of Ther-

mopylæ. (15) Greek opinions of the Persians. (16) What do you think of Themistocles? (17) History of Sicily from 480 to 415 B.C.

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Illustrative work



RETURN OF THE GREEKS FROM SALAMIS.

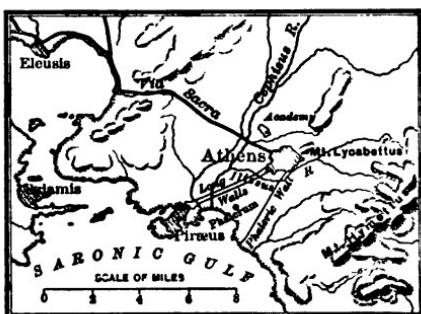
Painting by F. Cormon.

CHAPTER X.

THE BUILDING OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

THE last Persian had scarcely retreated across the border, when the Athenians began to return into Attica. With a vigor born of the consciousness of the part which they had played in the defeat of the Persians, they set to work to rebuild the city which had been razed by Xerxes and Mardonius. In this work, Themistocles was the prime mover: he proposed, first, to reestablish the people in their homes; then to provide the city with adequate defenses; and finally, to develop still further the resources of the Piræus, the commercial port. Against this work, many cities raised a vigorous protest: Sparta especially professed to fear that Athens was

117. Re-building of Athens



VICINITY OF ATHENS.

building a stronghold which the Persians might occupy if they ever came again. Themistocles, however, believing that the protests were due merely to jealousy, succeeded in outwitting Sparta; and the fortifications went forward without molestation. When the walls were nearly finished, he allowed the Spartans to see how they had been deceived. Since they were unable to prevent a thing which had already been completed, the Spartans acquiesced; but till his death, they treasured up against Themistocles the memory of the trick which he had played upon them.

While these petty intrigues were going on at home, the united fleet was accomplishing wonders in the east. After the battle of Mycale, the fleet maneuvered in the region of the Hellespont, redeeming cities out of the hands of the Persians. In 478 B.C. the ephors of Sparta sent out Pausanias, the hero of Plataea, as admiral. Under him an attack was made first upon the island of Cyprus, and then upon Byzantium; Byzantium was taken, and thus the way into the Black Sea was opened once more.

118. Spartan admirals of the fleet

The success of Pausanias, and the lack of restraint in a command far from home, seem to have turned his head; and he adopted toward the other captains of the fleet the airs of an eastern despot: consequently, there grew up a desire to throw off the yoke of Spartan leadership. Among the captains of the Athenian ships were Aristides and Cimon, son of Miltiades; and to them the Ionians turned more and more as they grew discontented with the arrogance of Pausanias. Before long the opportunity arrived for which the Ionians were waiting; rumors of treasonable correspondence with the Persian court began to fill the air; and the captains, eager to believe anything against their admiral, brought these reports to the attention of the ephors. As a result, Pausanias was recalled to stand trial for treason. Since nothing could be proved against him, for the time he was allowed to go in freedom.

Next year (477 B.C.) the ephors sent out a new commander; but the Ionians refused to accept the Spartan, and he returned without having taken any part in the yearly maneuvers. "Henceforth," says Thucydides, "the Spartans sent out no more commanders, for they were afraid that those whom they appointed would be corrupted as they had found to be the case with Pausanias. They had had enough of the Persian war; they thought that the Athenians were fully able to lead, and at that time they believed the Ath-

i. 95

nians to be their friends." On the withdrawal of the Spartans, there came over the organization of the fleet an important change, which we shall discuss later. Meanwhile we must follow events in Sparta and Athens.

Though the trial which the ephors conducted in 478 B.C. should have apprised Pausanias that his conduct would be

119. *End of closely watched, he seems to have entirely disregarded Pausanias and Themis- and Themis- tocles* the warning. Finally, in 468 B.C., conclusive evidence of his treasonable correspondence with the Persians was carried before the ephors by a slave, and his death was decreed. He took refuge in one of the temples, where he was inviolable from any weapon; but he was walled up and starved to death — a warning to all Spartans that not even the king could commit a wrong without punishment.

The loss of Pausanias could have been borne by Greece well enough; after all, he had been little more than the child of fortune. Forsaken by his goddess, who had raised him to the pinnacle of fame, he did little to distinguish himself or his city, after the battle of Platæa, twelve years before his death.

With Pausanias was dragged down a much greater man, Themistocles. Since the days of the rebuilding of Athens, his influence had grown steadily less, till in 471 B.C., for some reason not entirely clear, he was banished and retired to Argos. From that city he seems to have spread democratic doctrines throughout the Peloponnesus, much to the disgust of the Spartans. When, in 468 B.C., the letters which incriminated Pausanias were discovered, the Spartans professed to find in them also evidence of the guilt of Themistocles. At their request, he was recalled to Athens to stand trial. Whether guilty or not, he was afraid to trust himself to his countrymen and fled to Asia Minor. Ultimately, he made his way to the Persian court, where he was received with high honors: an estate in Asia Minor was granted to him, and here

he lived, a broken and disappointed man, till his death in 458 B.C.

Meanwhile a new Greek power sprang into existence. We have seen that in 477 B.C., Sparta withdrew from affairs in the eastern Aegean; in that same year, the captains of the general fleet intrusted to Aristides the task of organizing a confederacy among the cities represented by the ships. From the days of old, the Ionian Greeks had been organized, for the purpose of worshiping Apollo, into a religious league; and on this basis Aristides now created a political union, the so-called Delian Confederacy. The purpose of the combination was primarily to protect the cities from Persian aggression; and, in general, it was to fight the battles of the Greeks against their enemies. With few exceptions, the minor members of the confederacy were Ionian Greeks; each city was expected to contribute annually to a common chest a fixed sum or an equivalent in ships; no member might secede, and force might be used to compel the payment of dues. In its deliberations, which were held in the temple of Apollo on the island of Delos, all members were equal; but Athens, owing to the preponderating size of her navy, was always to have the presidency.

Though the organization of the confederacy was the work of Aristides, the active campaigning was intrusted to Cimon as admiral. In 476 B.C., he proceeded with the fleet against Eion on the Thracian coast, and succeeded in dislodging the Persians here and all along the northern

120. Organization of the Delian Confederacy (477 B.C.)



GROTTO OF APOLLO AT DELOS.

On the mountain side above the temple.

121. Campaigns of Cimon (477-470 B.C.)

shore of the *Ægean*. Two years later, the fleet achieved another signal success: Scyros, the headquarters of a band of pirates in the *Ægean*, was taken, and thus a great nuisance was abated. Thenceforth, the island became a strong naval station where all ships might stop. Unfortunately, the history of the next few years is almost entirely lost; still we can gather from later conditions how great must have been the activity of Cimon and his captains. Year after year, they sailed up and down the *Ægean*, restoring the islands and the cities of the coast to independence; till, by 470 b.c., all danger from Persian attacks was practically at an end.

By this time, the allies were becoming less willing to bear the burdens of the confederacy. Many demanded, now that

122. Con- the danger was passed, that the confederacy should be
federacy disbanded; others, "who disliked military service and
becomes an absence from home, agreed to contribute a regular sum
Athenian of money instead of ships; whereby the Athenian navy
empire *Plutarch,* was proportionately increased, while they themselves
Cimon were always untrained and unprepared for war." The result
was inevitable: the Athenian power grew and the allies lost
all interest in the confederacy. First they ceased to contrib-
ute ships, and finally they refused to pay their contributions
to the common chest. That was the signal for the Athenians
to collect the dues by force; and when that had been done,
the allies remained in the confederacy not because they wished
to remain, but because they feared the Athenian fleet. For
example, in 470 b.c. the island state of Naxos attempted to
withdraw; but the Athenians conducted a vigorous campaign
against the rebels, and the following year the city was brought
back into the confederacy: not as a free member, however;
Thucydides, henceforth, Naxos was treated as a dependency of Athens.
i. 98 "This was the first of the allied cities which was en-
slaved contrary to Hellenic law; the turn of the others came
later."

Everything now seemed serene within the confederacy; in the year 468 B.C., the fleet met and completely defeated the Persians at the Eurymedon, on the southern coast of Asia Minor. The result, besides augmenting the reputation of Cimon, added considerably to the power of the confederacy; for thenceforth from the shores of Greece to the southern coast of Asia Minor its authority was undisputed. Then, in 465 B.C.; another of the allies, Thasos, off the coast of Thrace, attempted to dispute the overlordship of Athens. In the war which followed, after a resistance of two years, the island was forced to surrender. Athens was now complete mistress of the Ægean; the Delian Confederancy had ceased to exist in everything but name; in its place, there had grown up an Athenian empire.

We can well believe that Sparta viewed with increasing jealousy the development of Athenian power. When news of the intended revolt of Thasos was brought to the city, the elders promised aid against Athens; but just before the expedition set out, an earthquake destroyed almost the entire population of the city, and forced the Spartans to abandon their purpose. To add to their difficulties, the Helots now rose in revolt; the Messenians were most active, and for a time the very existence of Sparta was threatened; for two years the Spartans tried in vain to dislodge the Messenians from their stronghold, Mount Ithome; and when they found all their efforts unavailing, they appealed to Athens to bring siege apparatus to their aid.

In Athens, political parties were no longer divided on the same issues as in the days of Themistocles and Aristides. Cimon, the leader of the conservative party, favored the division of power in Greece between Athens and Sparta, and demanded that the aid for which the Spartans prayed should be sent. The leaders of the democrats, Ephialtes and Pericles, opposed him, but Cimon's popularity carried the day,

123. Helot
revolt in
Lacedæmon
(464-456
B.C.)

124. Polit-
cal parties
in Athens
(462 B.C.)

and the expedition was sent out. When the Athenians arrived at Mount Ithome, they found that they were as powerless against the Messenian defenses as the Spartans had been, and soon rumors began to spread through the Spartan camp that the Athenians had come on the mere pretense of helping Sparta; that their real purpose was to abet the Messenians in the war. In consequence, the Spartans found a pretense for asking the Athenians to withdraw, and the army marched back ingloriously to Athens. The blame for the affair was put on Cimon, and this odium, added to his active opposition to certain constitutional changes which Ephialtes and Pericles were advocating, led in 461 B.C. to his ostracism.

In the Peloponnesus, the war dragged on for several years longer. In the end, the Messenians were forced to surrender, but not until they had obtained permission to leave the Peloponnesus, if they wished, and settle at Naupactus, an Athenian colony in Ætolia.

In the eighteen years between the battle of Plataea and the ostracism of Cimon, many changes came about. The old leaders

125. Summary. — Themistocles; Aristides, and Pausanias — either died or went into exile; new leaders took their place. Athens, under the leadership of Cimon, built for herself an empire which encircled almost the entire Ægean Sea, and formed the first really powerful Greek state. Unfortunately, this empire was founded on arrogant and unstable principles. Sparta, on the other hand, lost her control in Ionian Greece; for a time, indeed, the very existence of the Spartan state hung in the balance.

In the last years of the period important constitutional changes were proposed in Athens; and as a result of his opposition to these changes, Cimon was ostracized, and the city was left in the hands of the extreme democrats, who might now carry out as they pleased their schemes for reform.

TOPICS

- (1) Was Sparta's protest against the rebuilding of the fortifications of Athens consistent with her policy in the Persian war? What motives prompted Sparta to issue such a protest? (2) Compare Themistocles with Pausanias and Aristides as to character and deeds. Why did Sparta dislike his presence in the Peloponnesus? (3) Compare the Delian Confederacy with the Confederation in the early history of the United States. In which did the governing body have the greater power? (4) Was Athens justified in holding the confederacy of Delos together by the means she employed? Give your reasons. (5) Was the treatment of Naxos legal according to the constitution of the confederacy? (6) Distinguish between a confederacy and an empire. (7) What connection was there between the Helots and the Messenians? (8) Compare the political parties in Athens at the time of Themistocles and Aristides with those at the time of Cimon, Ephialtes, and Pericles. (9) In 461 B.C., was Athens or Sparta more powerful? Give your reasons.
- (10) Character of Pausanias. (11) Accounts of the island of Delos. (12) Life in an island city of Greece. (13) Ancient accounts of the Helots. (14) Modern accounts of the Helots. (15) How long did it take to send news from Athens to Byzantium?

Suggestive topics

Search topics

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CHAPTER XI.

THE AGE OF PERICLES

THE ostracism of Cimon marks the beginning of a change in the policy of the city of Athens. While Cimon was ^{126. Change in Athenian policy} admiral, he had conceived of Hellas as a united country under the leadership of two great powers,—Athens in control of the maritime cities, Sparta of the inland states. In the same year that Cimon was ostracized (461 B.C.), Ephialtes was murdered, and thus Pericles became sole leader of the democracy. He frankly abandoned the policy of Cimon and proceeded to use all the resources of the city in building up the power of Athens on land as well as on sea.

Already, a year earlier, he had concluded alliances with Argos and Thessaly; and now another opportunity offered

for extending the influence of Athens, and Pericles gladly accepted it. On the Isthmus, Megara and Corinth were quarreling over boundaries, and Corinth was triumphing over her smaller

neighbor: Megara applied to Athens for aid. Alliance with Megara meant war with Corinth; but the Megarians offered as the price of assistance the control of her two ports, one on the Saronic Gulf, the other on the Gulf of Corinth—a gate which would open to Athens the commerce of the west.

For this price, Pericles was willing to assume the war. Corinth, on her side, sought allies among the states of the Peloponnesus. Sparta was still busy with her war against the Helots and could not render assistance; but the smaller states



COIN OF ARGOS.

were willing to engage in the venture, and Ægina also readily responded to Corinth's appeal. Thus, in 458 B.C., two groups of states were arrayed against each other: on the one side, Athens supported by her Ionian dependencies, and by Argos, Thessaly, and Megara; on the other, Corinth, Ægina, and a number of smaller Dorian states.

In 457 B.C. Sparta found herself in a position to enter the lists also. Trouble in the north between Phocis and Doris gave her a pretext for marching into central Greece. 127. Fight
for central
Greece
(457 B.C.) Here, the Spartans set to work to stir up the Boëtians and those Athenians who were entirely out of sympathy with the policy of Pericles. On the Isthmus, the arms of Athens were prospering; so that the Athenians had even found time to send an expedition to aid the Egyptians in a war against the Persian king. To add to the complexity of the situation, Athens was now forced to send an army into Boëotia to dislodge the Spartans. To understand the crisis of 457 B.C., then, we must remember that the Athenian forces were engaged in three different places.

The Athenian and Spartan armies met in battle near Tanagra, in Boëotia, and the Spartans left the field the victors, owing to the treachery of some Thessalian cavalry, which during the fight deserted the Athenian ranks. That the victory was dearly bought is proved by the fact that the Spartans at once abandoned central Greece and retired into the Peloponnesus. On the other hand, the Athenians immediately organized another army, and before the winter set in the defeat at Tanagra had been redeemed by a victory at Ænophyta, where the Boëtians were beaten and forced into an alliance with the Athenians. The Phocians and Locrians now threw in their fortunes with Athens, and thus nearly all central Greece bowed to the Athenian master.

In the Saronic Gulf and along its borders, the Athenian arms were successful. The Corinthians were beaten back, and

Ægina, after a long struggle, was forced to capitulate and join the confederacy as a tribute-paying member (456 B.C.).

So far, with the single exception of the Thessalian alliance, every-
 128. **Athens** thing that Pericles had un-
 at the height of her power dertaken had flowered into
 success. Including the de-

pendencies and allies, Athens was in control of all central Greece from Megara to Thermopylæ; in the Peloponnesus, she had Argos and Achaia as allies, and on the northern shore of the Gulf of Corinth, she controlled the important naval station at Naupactus. From Eubœa by way of Scyros and Chalcidice, into the Hellespont and the Euxine beyond, along the coast of Asia Minor to Caria and Lycia, and throughout the islands, the Athenian galley might travel without touching at a single port outside the Athenian dominion. Only three islands—Lesbos, Chios, and Samos—preserved even a nominal independence. As far as human intelligence could see, no serious danger threatened the city on any side.

Still, there were two things which might cause anxiety to far-seeing citizens: the oligarchs whom Pericles had exiled from the cities of Bœotia might cause the city trouble; and the force which had been sent to Egypt had no apparent hope of ultimate success. Finally, in 454 B.C., word came that the whole expedition had fallen into Persian hands. A feeling of awe and terror must have run through the breasts of the people, for this was their first serious reverse since the days of the Persian invasion, half a century before.

Fortunately for Athens, Cimon had been recalled some time
 129. **Recall** of **Cimon** and his **death** before the disaster. Now, in the hour of need, when an attack from any of the Peloponnesian states would have done infinite harm, Cimon was called upon to exercise his good influences with Sparta. Negotiations were begun, but



COIN OF ÆGINA.

the work proceeded slowly, for the truce was not concluded till 450 B.C. Still the purpose of the Athenians was accomplished; danger from attack within Greece was averted, and Athens could devote her time to repairing her fortunes beyond the seas.

When Cimon came back to Athens in 457 B.C., it was with the understanding "that he should go out to sea with a fleet of two hundred ships, and be commander in chief abroad, with the design to reduce the king of Persia's territories; that Pericles should have all the power at home." In 449 B.C., Cimon finally embarked, bent on wresting Cyprus from the Persians. What success he attained we may never know, since only the most fragmentary accounts of the expedition remain; of the whole affair only this is certain: that Cimon never returned to Athens. Before he finished the work he had set out to do, he died; and after his death, the expedition wasted its strength and accomplished nothing.

The death of Cimon, like his ostracism twelve years before, marks the end of an epoch in Greek history. The change in the aspect of affairs may be summed up in these few words of Plutarch: "After his death, there was not one commander among the Greeks that did anything considerable against the Persians." Till the time of Alexander, more than a century later, the Greeks made no headway in the east, and Greek ideas did not extend among non-Hellenic peoples. Henceforth, for almost a hundred years, the history of Greece is the history of the struggle among the several states for supremacy.

"In Cimon, Athens lost one of her greatest men; brave, free-handed, affable, a genuine aristocrat, who worked hard when it was necessary, and did not grudge himself or others recreation when it was not. . . . Athens was never again so powerful as under Cimon, and her power was not due to him alone. . . . His example had beneficial effects.

*Plutarch,
Cimon*

*Plutarch,
Cimon*

*Holm, II.
ch. xiii.*

There was room for men beside him, whereas Pericles eclipsed all his contemporaries."

For three years after the death of Cimon, the city enjoyed unbroken peace; then trouble, which showed the weakness of

130. End of a land empire founded on force, suddenly broke out on the Athenian land empire (446 B.C.) all sides. In Boeotia, the oligarchs, whom Pericles had deposed ten years before, gathered in the north, near Chæronea, and the Athenian army sent to subdue them was surprised and terribly defeated a few miles south of the city. So complete was the defeat, that Athens was forced, by this one blow, to relinquish all hold on central Greece. Then followed, in quick succession, revolts in Eubœa and Megara, and a Spartan invasion. The revolt in Eubœa was put down, and the Spartan attack came to nothing; but Megara succeeded in throwing off the yoke of dependence, and her ports on the two gulfs were lost to Athens.

The results of this one summer's campaign showed Pericles the weakness of the Athenian land empire, and hurried him into

another arrangement with Sparta and her allies, — the famous Thirty Years' Truce. By it Athens relinquished all her allies in Greece proper except Platæa in Boeotia and Naupactus in Ætolia. In maritime Greece, including Ægina and Eubœa, she was

to retain her supremacy. Each of the parties recognized the league of the other and bound itself not to seek allies among the other's dependencies. Greece, with the exception of Thessaly and some of the less important states, was thus



TEMPLE AT ÆGINA.

again divided into two parts; on one side a Dorian confederacy, the Peloponnesian League; on the other, an Athenian-Ionian empire, the Delian Confederacy. Political conditions were much the same as in the time of the ascendancy of Cimon; but between the two great rivals, Athens and Sparta, there existed a bitterness of feeling which was certain sooner or later to lead to war.

Still, Athens was better off than she had been for some years past. She had only her maritime empire to care for, and on the seas Athens had been undisputed mistress since the 131. The days when Themistocles converted her fighting strength ^{era of peace (445-431 B.C.)} into a navy. For a period of fourteen years, the city enjoyed an era of almost unbroken peace. Only once in all that time, so far as we know, were the war galleys launched for a hostile expedition; in 440 B.C., Samos, dissatisfied with her political relations to Athens, tried to withdraw from the confederacy, but the revolt was soon quelled, and the imperial city was then allowed to enjoy unbroken peace. These are the years of the greatest intellectual and artistic development in the entire history of Athens and of Greece.

From the ostracism of Cimon in 461 B.C. to the signing of the Thirty Years' Truce in 445 B.C., Greece passed through many rapid changes. In the first place, Pericles came 132. ^{Summary} to the head of affairs in Athens, and at once undertook to make Athens supreme on both land and sea. By 450 B.C., he had accomplished his purpose; but what he had gained by ten years of war he lost in an even shorter time, for by the Thirty Years' Truce Athens relinquished all her claims upon her allies in central and southern Greece except Plataea and Naupactus. Within those sixteen years, also, the war with Persia finally came to an end. In the expedition against Cyprus, Cimon died, and after him no Greek commander for nearly fifty years undertook to make war upon Persia. Finally,

in the sixteen years' contest for the control of central Greece, there had been sown seeds of hatred between Athens and Sparta, which were soon to bear bitter fruit in the great Peloponnesian war.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

- (1) Was Cimon's ideal capable of realization? Give your reasons. (2) What was the moving cause for the interference of Athens in the affairs of Megara and Corinth? (3) Why was Cimon rather than Pericles called upon to effect the first truce with Sparta? Use this incident for a comparison of the characters and policies of the two men. (4) Trace the career of Cimon. (5) Would the loss of the navy or of the army have been worse for Athens at the time when she lost central Greece? (6) What was the character of the forces on which Athens and Sparta relied to enforce the provisions of the Thirty Years' Truce? (7) What does the term "truce" show about the probable future relations between the two?

Search topics

- (8) Island of Cyprus in Greek times. (9) Character of Cimon. (10) Ancient opinions of the Boeotians. (11) Pericles as a general. (12) The greatness of Corinth. (13) Thucydides as a historian.

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Geography

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Sources

See New England History Teachers' Association, *Historical Sources in Schools*, § 15; Thucydides, bks. i. ii.; Plutarch, *Lives*, Cimon, Pericles; Diodorus, bks. xi. xii.

Illustrative works

W. S. Landor, *Pericles and Aspasia*; Miss Lynn, *Amymone*.



VASE FROM CYPRUS.

CHAPTER XII.

LIFE, LETTERS, AND ART IN THE TIME OF PERICLES

So far we have been studying the constitutional and political history of the Greek people of twenty-five centuries ago; let us pause now to learn something about their social and intellectual life.

The dress of the Greeks was simple. Next to the body all classes wore a tunic, called a *chiton*. Over this the better classes draped a long flowing garment, called the *himation* (picture, p. 152). The dress of the women was almost exactly like that of the men: they, too, wore the tunic and the himation, or some substitute therefor, which, however, was fuller in proportions than that of the men, and made of more delicate materials. Garments were usually made of wool or linen. White was the common color, but colored fabrics, especially of saffron hue, were not unusual. Head coverings, except for those on a journey or those exposed to the sun, were rare. Shoes, in the modern sense, were worn only by special classes whose work required a life in the field; the ordinary foot gear was the sandal. In general, the dress was much simpler than in modern times; fashions changed but little, and everything was designed for comfort in a warm and equable climate.

An ancient Greek city little resembled a modern one in appearance. There were no immense business blocks such as line the streets of our great cities, and the residence quarters were narrow and inconveniently arranged. The houses presented a plain unbroken front to the street except for the small doors and still smaller unglazed windows of the second story. Within the outer door, which opened into the street,

133. Dress
and homes
of the
people

ran a small entrance hall leading to the principal room of the house, a large central hall, blackened by smoke, for Greek houses had no chimneys. Beyond this room was an open courtyard from which the house received most of its light and air; about this courtyard were ranged sleeping apartments and other rooms. The women, who rarely mingled with the men, had separate apartments, either in a section of the house beyond the court or in the second story. Measured by modern



INTERIOR OF A GREEK HOUSE. (Restoration.)

standards, the house was inconvenient, ill-drained, and chilly; but to the Greek gentleman that made little difference, for most of his time he lived outdoors.

All classes rose early. Breakfast was always a simple meal, consisting of bread, light wines, and sometimes fruit.

184. Daily life and education After breakfast, the workmen hurried away to their daily tasks, while the better classes, who took things more easily, wandered off to the market place, where one was sure to meet friends and business acquaintances and

hear all the gossip of the city. The market place was not only a center for the sale of wares ; it served the further purpose of a general meeting place for the exchange of ideas. After the market closed at noon, when the citizen had transacted all his business and heard all the news, he retired to his home for a light luncheon and an afternoon nap. In the evening, the principal meal of the day was served. If no guests were present, the women dined with the men ; when guests were at the table, the women never appeared. In general, the position of women was much inferior to that of the women of to-day.

The education of the girls, except in Sparta, was entirely neglected ; the boys were carefully trained from earliest childhood. In Sparta, this training was all devoted to the rearing of perfect soldiers ; in the other cities, the purpose of education was to bring up a well-balanced man. Education, though not conducted at public expense, was carefully regulated. The course of study, consisting of reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and the study of the ancient writers, was much simpler than with us ; but it prepared the boy for the part he was to play in the world at least as well as our schools do to-day. Besides his intellectual training, the boy was required to attend the gymnasium, so that the body might be developed to an equal perfection with the mind. The noblest type of citizen, said the Greek, was the one who was ready to serve the state either with a well-equipped mind or with a perfectly trained body.

When the boy reached his sixteenth or eighteenth year, his regular education ceased. He was now enrolled among the citizens, and was free to enjoy the privileges, and bound to share the burdens, of his new position. For a year or two at least, he was usually required to serve in the army, doing garrison duty or guarding the frontier. Most of the soldiers were armed with a spear and a short sword, and

135. The
army and
the navy

protected by a helmet, a shield, and greaves. Such heavy-armed soldiers were called *hoplites*; every army had also auxiliary corps of light-armed troops, attendant on the hoplites. Cavalry played but little part in the fighting force, except in Thessaly and in Boeotia.



HOPLITE.

Bronze from Dodona.

Among the maritime cities, more attention was paid to the navy than to the army. The fighting ships were ordinarily propelled by oarsmen ranged in three tiers; hence the name *triremes*, by which such ships were called (picture, p. 125). In cruising, when the wind was favorable, sail was hoisted; but in action the captain depended upon his oars. Naval battles were usually confined to maneuvers for position, the object being to ram and sink the enemy.

Attacks with missiles and

by boarding were never practiced by the Greeks.

Though there was always a considerable class of free peasants and artisans among the Greeks, manual labor was largely rele-

136. The slaves gated to the slaves. The effect of slavery on Greek society was in general very degrading; it fostered the worst passions and gave opportunity for dreadful cruelty. Still the slaves, often of the same race as the masters, were for the most part well treated. Many of them were employed as managers and overseers, and thus the Greek masters were left with abundant leisure, which, to their credit be it said,

they devoted to public service and to the cultivation of intellectual and artistic tastes. While the slaves were at work, the masters were attending political meetings in the market place, or sitting in the theaters watching the plays, or standing in the arcades and lyceums listening to the lectures of the philosophers. The result was the growth of an artistic taste and the development of an art and literature which have been an inexhaustible well of inspiration for all later ages.

In the years immediately after the Persian invasion, a revolution of feeling had in part restored the aristocrats to power in Athens. "After the Persian war," says Aristotle, "the council of the Areopagus recovered strength and ruled the state; not that any law conferred the hegemony on them, but because the aristocratic party had the credit of the victory at Salamis." This state of affairs lasted till 461 B.C., when there was a revolution in internal politics, the cause of which was double: first, Cimon's failure in his expedition to Sparta; and second, the opposition of his party to the proposed reduction of the power of the Areopagus. The result was that Ephialtes and Pericles were successful; Cimon was ostracized, and the Areopagus was deprived of all of its powers. Thenceforward, the Athenian government, with the last aristocratic restraints removed, was as complete a democracy as the ancient world was ever to know.

We must not, however, look upon this government of Athens as anything like our modern democracies. The machinery of government was different: the people acted directly and not through representatives as we do now; and though the suffrage was said to be universal, there were still large classes who were entirely disfranchised, among them the very important class of foreign merchants who lived in the Piraeus. With this reservation, the words of Euripides are true:—

"Our state is ruled
Not of one only man: Athens is free."

137. Politics in the days of Pericles

Aristotle,
Ath. Constitution, 23

138. Periclean democracy

Euripides,
Suppliants,
403

Her people in the order of their course
Rule year by year, bestowing on the rich
Advantage none; the poor hath equal right."

The one great arbiter of all public affairs was the general assembly, the Ecclesia — there every citizen had an equal right to speak. No legal restriction was placed on the business which might be transacted or on the character of the debate. In practice, however, the Ecclesia was ruled, as such bodies are sure to be, by a very few men. Thus for over thirty years Pericles led the body and without any difficulty swayed it to do his will. So long as such men were leaders of the people in the Ecclesia, the state was safe under the rule of a general assembly; danger was in store, however, when a man should come, who —

Euripides, "slavering them with talk,
Suppliants, This way and that, should twist them for his gain."
410

Besides the Ecclesia, there were, of course, a number of executive officers, notably the archons and the ten generals, with special functions and duties, but none of them were really free and independent; over all of them the Ecclesia exercised the closest supervision; the whole system was singularly like the modern New England town government.

More interesting even than the Ecclesia was the popular supreme court. From beginning to end, the Athenian system 139. *Judicial system* of law had to be simple, for, at some time or other, every citizen took his turn at being a judge. Besides the ordinary judges, who were chosen by lot, since the time of Solon there existed in Athens a popular supreme court, the Heliaëa. In its early history, the court did little beyond trying retiring government officials for malfeasance in office; but after the abolition of the Areopagus, the court rose to a place of supreme importance. To augment its power, the Ecclesia, at the direction of Pericles, passed a law providing that every juror who served in the court should be paid sufficient for

his services to support his family. Service thus became almost a profession with the older and especially the poorer classes, who absorbed much of the power of the government; for before them every sort of case was settled, and from their decision there was no appeal. Just as in the case of the Ecclesia, this system, which made the affairs of state the business of so large a proportion of the citizens, had great strength so long as the leaders were honest and right-minded men; the danger would come when demagogues of a lower type gained control over the passions of the people.

Since the days of the Homeric poems, great changes had come over the art and literature of Greece. In the first



"SAPPHO."

Pitti Gallery, Florence.

early in the fifth century B.C. Among them, the most famous are Sappho and Alcaeus, who lived in Asia Minor before the coming of the Persians, and Simonides (556–468 B.C.) and Pindar (522–448 B.C.), who lived to see the full effects of the Persian wars, but whose minds always turned back to the age when the tyrants had been the patrons of art and literature.

place, the taste for poetry had completely changed. 140. The age of lyric poets
Sometime in the eighth or seventh century B.C., epic poets had ceased to hold the attention of the people, and in their place a school of poets arose, who sang of their personal emotions: their loves, their patriotism, their grief for the dead, their reverence for the gods. These are the lyric poets who flourished in Ionia just before the Persian wars, and of whom we hear the last at the courts of the tyrants of Sicily

The Persian wars mark the transition from the age of lyric poetry to the age of the drama, the poetry of action,

141. The tragic dramatists of the life which men live among their fellow-men.

That the end of the wars should be the beginning of the new era is natural. The Greeks had just come through a struggle in which the men of action had superseded the men of thought, and the minds of the people were full of the fight which Greece had made for her liberties.

The first of the three great tragic poets was

142. Aeschylus. Born in Attica in the year

525 b.c., he reached his full maturity in time to take part in all the great battles of the invasion. The impression which Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa left on his mind, he embodied in his tragedies, especially in the *Persians*, which was acted for the first time in 472 b.c. Yet Aeschylus, though he represents the new spirit of national consciousness, is still, in many ways, the poet of the olden times. His tragedies are full of the old regard for the power of the gods and their influence on the fate



SOPHOCLES.

Lateran Museum, Rome; shows the himation (p. 145).

of men, full of the fierce personal passions which distinguish the elder days from the newer. Before he died, he found himself so completely out of harmony with the younger men in Athens that he migrated to Sicily, where he found refuge at the court of the tyrant of Gela.

The successor of Æschylus among the tragic poets was Sophocles, whose life covers almost the entire fifth century B.C. All his days he lived in Athens; and his works, in conse-

^{143.} Sopho-
cles

quence, are a mirror of the intellectual life of his native city. Just as Æschylus is the poet of the Persian wars and the national consciousness which resulted from them, so Sophocles is the poet of the serenity and prosperity which, for the most part, marked the rule of Pericles. It is true that he lived to see important changes come over the city, but they did not affect his writings; for they came when his place had already been taken by a newer poet, Euripides.

EURIPIDES.
National Museum, Naples.

Euripides is the exponent of the last years of the fifth century B.C., when, as we shall see when we come to study the political history of the period, the sentiments and ties created by the Persian wars had died out, and in their place a narrower and more selfish policy had arisen. Born, according to tradition, in the year of the battle of Salamis, Euripides died in the same year as Sophocles. But the lives of the two men are entirely different: Sophocles represents the spirit of contentment which pervaded Athens in the days of her prosperity; Euripides, the spirit of unrest and longing

^{144.} Eurip-
ides

for new ideals which marks the last years of the century. He could no longer believe firmly in the gods of his ancestors, and he was bold enough to allow the people to see his skepticism. Furthermore, he was pervaded with the spirit of inquiry which marks the prose writings of the age.

Discontent with existing conditions is shown even more clearly, though differently, in the comedies of Aristophanes,

145. Aristophanes, the contemporary of Euripides. Aristophanes lived and wrote his comedies between 428 and 388 B.C., in the years when the glory of the empire which Cimon and

Pericles had created was passing away. His life was chiefly spent in satirizing the institutions which these men had created, and at the same time in sighing for the good old days of Themistocles and Miltiades. Unlike Euripides, he had no sympathy for the new learning which the philosophers were offering the people in exchange for their belief in the gods; for him, these new ideas were subjects for endless ridicule. "The world is out of joint," we may suppose him to have said; "would that we might all be transported back to the good old days when Greece was fighting for her liberty!"

Nearest akin to the poets of the fifth century B.C. were the philosophers. In early times, the thinkers of Greece had busied

146. Philosophers of the fifth century B.C. themselves with trying to find out the true nature of things, the ultimate reason for their existence. In the early part of the fifth century B.C., the Greeks had been

too busy with the practical things of life to enjoy such speculations; but in the middle of the century, when all was serene again, there arose a school of philosophers who doubted everything, who set aside all the traditions of the race, and declared that nothing in the world is certain. These men are known as the Sophists.

Before the century closed, a new philosopher, Socrates, arose. Though Socrates is often classed among the Sophists, his purpose in life was entirely different; where they pulled

down all the old traditions and left the people nothing, he began the process of building up once more. It is true that

he would accept nothing that could not be demonstrated; but, on the other hand, his whole life was spent in a zealous search after the truth, whereas the Sophists quibbled and tried to set the world by the ears. Late in life Socrates was accused of impiety and of corrupting the youth of Athens; for this he was tried and condemned to death.

Among the histories of the fifth century B.C., there are only two of first-rate importance: the account of the Persian wars by

147. The historian Herodotus

Herodotus, and the critical study of the Peloponnesian war by Thucydides.

Herodotus, a native of Caria, was born about the year 485 B.C. Throughout most of his life (he died in Magna Græcia about 420 B.C.), he traveled from place to place, as we should say, with a notebook in his hand. At one time or another, he visited almost every land known to the ancients, and all the information which he gathered he put together ultimately in a history of the wars and conquests of the Persian kings. He was not in the least concerned whether the stories which he set down



SOCRATES.

National Museum, Naples.



HERODOTUS.

National Museum, Naples.

were true or not; everything that he gathered, he reproduced; his audience might accept or reject as it pleased. The history is full of legends and tales, but it also abounds in the most valuable information. Above all, it impresses us with its perfect satisfaction with Greek national life, with its absolute faith in the continued greatness of Athens. In this, the work belongs as distinctly to the age of Pericles as the history of the Peloponnesian war by Thucydides belongs to the following era.

Born in 470 B.C., Thucydides lived to see the fall of the Athenian empire. He had none of the sympathy of Herod-

148. Thucydides otus with the fables and legends which the Greeks cherished about their ancestors; for him every incident must have an absolute basis in fact. Where Herodotus had been most credulous, he was most critical. Furthermore, as he intended his history for the perusal of the statesman and the scholar, he put into it very little but a careful narrative of cold facts. Hence, while the history of Herodotus is still most entertaining reading for anybody, the history of Thucydides requires a critical and intelligent reader; yet it is one of the best models of historical style.

When the Athenians returned to their city after the battle of Plataea, they found scarcely one stone upon another; a half century later, Athens was the most famous city in the world for its art and architecture. This transformation

149. Athenian art in Cimon's time was largely the work of two men,—Cimon and Pericles.

Though a poor man originally, Cimon amassed a great fortune while he was commander of the fleet; and he spent it freely



THUCYDIDES.

National Museum, Naples.

in beautifying the city. To him the city owed several large groves or parks where the people might go and enjoy themselves, and also the plans and preparations for the great temples which Pericles afterwards completed. To his time belong at least two of the greatest artists of Greece,—Myron and Polygnotus. Of Polygnotus, who was a painter, nothing but the tradition of his work remains; though the Greeks of his age and the following ages probably accomplished much in figure painting,—one of the most difficult of the arts,—not a single example of their work has been preserved. Of the sculpture of Myron, at least reproductions are still in existence. His special aptitude was the presentation of men in action, and had he not been succeeded by the immortal Phidias, his name might have come down to us as that of the greatest sculptor of the fifth century B.C.

The work of Cimon was continued by Pericles. All over the city, but especially on the Acropolis (p. 90), which had ceased to be the fortress of the city since the building of the great walls, and had become merely the most sacred precinct, works of art attested the activity of the great leader of the democracy.



DISCUS THROWER, AFTER MYRON.
Vatican, Rome. Discus throwing was an important event in Greek athletics.

150. Adorn-
ment of the
Acropolis
by Pericles

In all his artistic undertakings, Pericles had as his adviser Phidias, probably the greatest artist that Greece ever produced.



ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS.

By the order of Pericles, he took charge of the entire architectural scheme involved in the adornment of the Acropolis. Much of this work of necessity he allotted to subordinates;

but for himself he reserved the most important tasks, such as the creation of the statue of the goddess Athene which was to adorn the principal temple (picture, p. 74), and the heroic statue of the goddess which stood in front of the temple and seemed to watch over the fortunes of the city and of Attica.

The crowning work on the Acropolis was the Parthenon, a temple of Athene, in the Doric style (picture, p. 343). Its out-

151. The Parthenon lines were simple, and, except for the pedimental figures, the metopes, and the friezes, the building was without or-

namentation. Its lines were all straight, or, more strictly, so nearly straight that the eye could scarcely detect the deviation; yet in no part of the building was there any stiffness; everywhere there

was just enough departure from regularity to break the unpleasant effect that is left on the eye by a series of unrelieved straight lines. A complete description of the building, such as it deserves, would take many pages; all that we can say here is



PARTHENON.

that never in the history of man has a more nearly perfect building been produced.



PORCH OF THE CARYATIDES, ERECHTHEUM.

Besides the Parthenon, the Acropolis boasted of several other monumental structures. To the north of it, on the side of the hill, was a smaller temple, called the Erechtheum, a composite building which presented on the one side a series of columns in the Ionic style, on the other a porch which was supported by a series of female figures known as the Caryatides. On the walls of the Acropolis, facing the city, was a beautiful little temple dedicated to the Wingless Victory, which rivaled the Parthenon in its perfection. Like the Erech-

152. Fur-
ther adorn-
ment of the
Acropolis



TEMPLE OF WINGLESS VICTORY.

theum, it was built in the Ionic style, and therefore the builders had more chance for ornamentation than in the Parthenon. Finally, also facing the city, came the entrance gates, the Propylaea, a fit introduction to the beauties of the enclosure beyond.

Altogether, the Acropolis at Athens was one of the greatest artistic monuments which the world has ever seen.

The fifth century B.C. is the age of greatest glory in Greek life, art, and literature. In government, during this century,

153. Summary Athens, the leader of all the other cities, reached a stage where the city was under the absolute control of the democracy. In saying this, however, we must remember that even in the times of Pericles there were large numbers of people who had no hand in the government; for power was still confined to native-born residents, and thus the democracy lacked the elasticity which has been the saving grace of a government like that of the United States.

The intellectual and artistic life of the fifth century may be divided into three epochs: the age of Cimon, the age of Pericles, and the age of the decline of Athenian power. In the first, the characteristic which is most notable is the virile activity of the people, fully conscious of their victory over the Persians, and anxious to try their strength and skill at any task. In the second, the striking feature is the perfect contentment of the people who have conquered all their enemies and are resting on their laurels, unconscious, or only vaguely conscious, of any dangers to come. In the third, we have reached the period when things are beginning to go

wrong in the state, when Athens is losing her power in the world, when men are only too sure that the times are out of joint. Each one of these characteristics was directly reflected in the art and literature of the period.

TOPICS

- (1) Compare Greek naval warfare with that in the time of the American Revolution and with the warfare of to-day. (2) Trace the history of the council of the Areopagus. (3) Compare Athenian democracy under Clisthenes and under Pericles in regard to the legislative, executive, and judicial departments. (4) Trace the history of the archonship through the time of Pericles. (5) What disadvantages do you see in the plan of choosing judges by lot? How are they chosen in your state? (6) Compare the Periclean democracy with democracy in the United States. (7) Do you think that the presence of such men as Euripides, Aristophanes, and the Sophists would be a good thing for a country? (8) Where did most of these learned men dwell? Can you explain why? (9) Which is the more valuable for the purposes of history — Herodotus or Thucydides? Why?
- (10) Present condition of the Acropolis. (11) Gravestones in Greece. (12) The Tanagra figurines. (13) Description of a Greek temple. (14) What was the most beautiful thing in Greece? (15) Greek private houses. (16) Account of a Greek banquet. (17) Slavery in Athens. (18) Account of the representation of a Greek play. (19) Some of the jokes of Aristophanes.

Suggestive topics

Search topics

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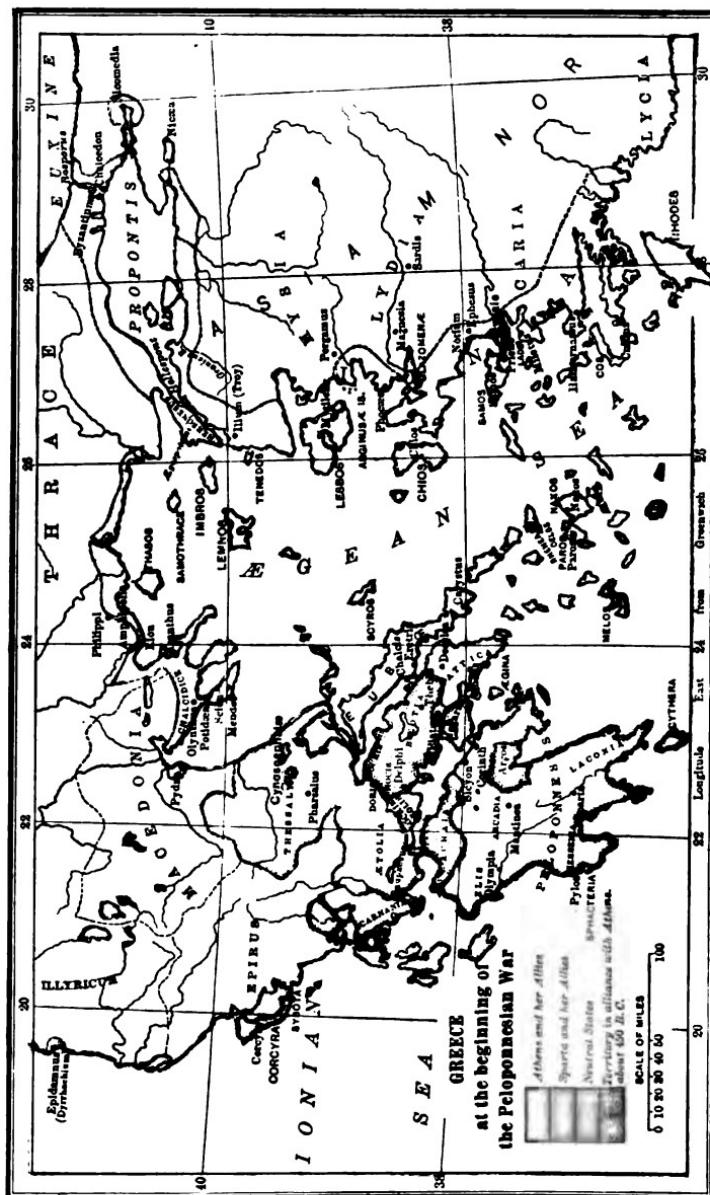
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Sources

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See works on art mentioned above; *Elson Prints*; *Perry Pictures*; *Cosmos Pictures*; *Harper's Black and White*; *Wister Series*.

Illustrative work Pictures



CHAPTER XIII.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR TO THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION

FROM the beginning of the Thirty Years' Truce in 445 B.C., Greece had been at peace except for a few unimportant conflicts. Nevertheless, the air was charged with electricity, and every one felt that ere long the storm was sure to break. Though the Peloponnesian League and the Delian Confederacy were mutually bound by the truce, few ties of sympathy existed between them: the one, with Sparta at its head, was almost entirely Dorian, the other almost equally Ionian; and between the two races there existed much of that hatred which only brothers can feel toward each other.

The cities of the Peloponnesian League were almost universally governed by oligarchies, the cities of the Delian Confederacy by democracies. This divergence was an expression of the difference in the mode of life in the cities of the two leagues. Most of the members of the Peloponnesian League were agricultural states, and in countries where land is the chief form of wealth, the few landholders as a nobility are sure to control the government. Among the Ionians, to whom trade and manufacture were the chief interests, any man might aspire by his own talents to become a power in the state, and democracy was almost inevitable.

From a military point of view also, the two combinations were radically different: the power of the Peloponnesian League lay largely in its army; that of the Delian Confederacy in its navy. Finally, the political constitutions of the two were unlike: the Peloponnesian League was a loose confederacy, bound by ties of immemorial antiquity, whose members owed

154. Athens
and Sparta
contrasted

it no service except in the army in times of war; the Delian Confederacy, which had come into existence scarcely fifty years before, was controlled by Athens, and the cities, though they flourished under Athenian rule, chafed at the tribute and at the careful supervision to which the Athenians subjected them.

In spite of all these differences, or perhaps because of them, the two leagues might have gone on side by side for a long

^{155. Corinth's responsibility for the war} time without coming into conflict, but that one member of the Peloponnesian League, Corinth, had interests which were exclusively maritime. Since the days when

Athens had become mistress of the Aegean, Corinth had looked with increasing jealousy on the naval power of her neighbor. Any chance for another war with Athens would be welcomed, and war between Corinth and Athens was nearly certain to set the whole Greek world afame.

On the coast of Illyricum was a city, Epidamnus, which had been colonized by men from Corinth and from the island city of Corcyra, which was itself a colony of Corinth. About 435 B.C. trouble arose in Epidamnus, and Corinth and Corcyra took opposite sides in the controversy. War between the two resulted, and when Corcyra forthwith appealed to Athens for aid, the crisis arrived.

For several days the Athenian Ecclesia hesitated; then, by the advice of Pericles, the citizens decided to make a defensive alliance with Corcyra and to send ships to her aid. Two arguments affected the mind of the Ecclesia: first, the Athenians saw in the alliance an opportunity to develop their trade in the west; and second, they felt that to allow the navy of Corcyra to fall into the hands of Corinth would be a menace to their naval supremacy.

In the summer of 432 B.C., the fleets of Corinth and Corcyra met in battle off the island of Sybota, near the southern end of Corcyra. At first the fortunes of war were with the Corin-

thians; then the captains of the Athenian triremes interfered, and the Corinthians were driven off with heavy losses. War between Corinth and Athens was inevitable from that moment. The greater question was, should the rest of Greece also be embroiled?

To complicate the problem, Corinth now stirred up trouble in Potidæa and the other cities of Chalcidice, and induced them to revolt. Athens naturally exerted herself to the utmost to put down the uprising, while Corinth protested loudly against the action of her rival.

156. How all Greece was drawn into the war

Corinth now appealed to the Peloponnesian League, alleging that Athens had broken the Thirty Years' Truce; and a meeting of the league was called that summer at Sparta. Among the Spartan elders, there were divided counsels; but in the end the war party won, and preparations for the struggle began. During the winter, several embassies went to and fro between Athens and Sparta; "but," says Thucydides, *Thucydides, ii. 8* "the youth of the Peloponnesus and the youth of Athens were numerous; they had never seen war, and they were therefore willing to take up arms."

At the beginning of the war, the two coalitions were arranged as follows: on the one side, Athens with her maritime dependencies and the allies Chios, Lesbos, Coreyra, and many maritime cities of the west coast; on the other side, Sparta and all the states of the Peloponnesus except Argos and Achaia, with most of the states of central Greece, and the Dorian states of Sicily. On sea, Athens was almost invincible; on land, Sparta was as far superior to her enemy as she was inferior in naval strength.

In the spring of 431 b.c., the formal war began. King Archidamus of Sparta marched his forces to the borders of Attica and summoned the Athenians to surrender their imperial city. By the advice of Pericles, the envoys were dismissed, and the residents of Attica retired into

157. First two years of war (431-429 B.C.)

the city, whereupon the Spartans advanced into Attica, burning and destroying as they went. Though the city was safe enough behind its strong walls, the Athenians were uneasy in their cramped quarters and murmured when they looked out upon their wasted fields. To allay the discontent and to give the citizens something else to think about, Pericles sent out a fleet to ravage the coast of the Peloponnesus. The ships returned in triumph in the fall, for there had been almost no one to oppose them. Still, when the first year of the war was over, neither side could claim any definite advantage.

Next year, 430 B.C., both parties pursued the same tactics, and no change in the situation seemed imminent, till suddenly the Athenians were overtaken by a catastrophe which altered the whole future course of the war. In some way, a deadly plague was introduced into the overcrowded city and hundreds died of the effect. Though Pericles was hardly to blame, the wrath of the citizens vented itself upon him, and he was compelled to retire into private life.

Within the year, Pericles was reinstated, but ere long he died,

158. Death of Pericles a victim of the plague: no greater calamity could (429 B.C.) have befallen the city.

For thirty years, Pericles had led the Athenians from one triumph to another, and with but few exceptions his statesmanship was beyond reproach. He had lived the life of an honorable and upright man; he had, as he said, caused no Athenian to put on mourning



PERICLES.
Vatican, Rome.

for any act of his; he had tried with all his might to build up a healthy, firm democracy in Athens; he had fixed in the minds of his fellow-citizens the highest intellectual and artistic ideals. In short, in the whole history of Greece, we can point to no other one man who was so preëminently great as Pericles; and Athens needed such a man most urgently at this time.

While Pericles lived, party strife had been reduced to a minimum; now that he was dead, the old dissensions again broke out. On the one side stood the extreme democrats, led by demagogues who sprang from the lower classes of the people. That these men lacked the refinement of the earlier leaders of the democracy is beyond dispute; that they were as bad as the aristocratic poets and historians would have us believe is far from likely. Aristophanes, for instance, declared that Cleon, the most famous of them all, was fit only to be "cut into thongs, to serve the knights for straps and shoes." This is one side of the picture, but we must not forget the other; though Cleon was coarse and comparatively uneducated, he had undoubtedly gifts of oratory and statesmanship of no mean order. During his life, as we shall see, he achieved at least one brilliant success.

Opposed to these extreme democrats, stood a number of conservatives, led by Nicias, a man of unquestioned respectability and immense wealth. But Nicias was not the man to oppose such bold spirits as Cleon and his associates; he was timid and diffident, and he knew none of the tricks which give a man the mastery over his fellows. Worst of all, he was slow and unresourceful, so that to "dawdle and postpone like Nicias" came to be a proverb in Athens.

The years from 429 to 427 B.C. are marked by two important movements. In the first place, the Spartans, who had invested the city of Platæa because it refused to renounce its allegiance

159. New
leaders:
Cleon and
Nicias

Aristophanes, Acharnians, 362

Aristophanes, Birds, 762

to Athens, now pressed the siege with great vigor. The Platæans held out in hope of succor from Athens; but,

180. Platæa and Mytilene (429-427 B.C.) whether Athens was too busy defending her interests in other places, or because she had ceased to care for the safety of any one but herself, no succor came, and

Platæa fell into the hands of the Spartans. The punishment of the citizens was terrible: every man that fell into the hands of the Spartans was cruelly put to death.

While the Spartans were lying before Platæa, the Athenians were carrying on an active war against the city of Mytilene, in Lesbos, which had deserted the Athenian alliance in the hope that Sparta would send her aid; but the Spartans failed, and Mytilene was forced to surrender. Urged on by Cleon, the Athenians decreed the slaughter of the entire male population of the city, but fortunately a milder spirit prevailed before the decree was carried out; even then, one thousand oligarchs were sacrificed to the bloodthirstiness of Cleon, and another horror was added to the long list in this most bloody war.

While the Athenian fleet was busy at Mytilene, the west was almost lost, for a serious sedition arose in Corcyra; but in

181. Spartan reverses at Pylos and Cythera (425, 424 B.C.) 426 B.C., the brilliant work of Demosthenes, the greatest general in Athens since Cimon, strengthened and restored the western allies. Next year, Demosthenes conceived

the brilliant scheme of seizing and fortifying the headland of Pylos on the coast of Messenia. This, he believed, would be an invaluable post as a basis of operations in the Peloponnesus and as a naval station for ships operating in the Ionian Sea. At first the scheme was opposed by the commanders of the fleet for the year; but in the end Demosthenes was given his way, and a small force was intrenched on the shore. At once the Spartans hurried to dislodge the band, but, by a terrible blunder, they allowed a part of their force to be entrapped on the island of Sphacteria, at the mouth of

the harbor of Pylos, and to save their countrymen, they sued for peace. Cleon would not hear of such a peace, and demanded that reinforcements should be sent to Demosthenes with all haste. Nicias was general for the year, but Nicias had no relish for the whole affair, consequently he gladly relinquished his command to Cleon, and Cleon thereupon led the Athenians to reinforce Demosthenes. Surrounded by an overwhelming force, the Spartans on the island were soon compelled to surrender, and Cleon brought the captives home in glory.

In 424 B.C. the Athenians captured the island of Cythera, off the southern coast of Laconia, and several places on the Isthmus of Corinth, and thus Sparta was cut off from all her allies beyond the Peloponnesus. Apparently, the end was not far off.

At the moment of their highest success, however, disaster was preparing for the Athenians. A young Spartan general, Brasidas, believed that he saw a way to cripple Athens and at the same time to remedy the greatest weakness of Sparta,—the lack of a fleet. He reasoned that if the cities of Chalcidice and Thrace could be induced to revolt, Athens would lose one of her chief sources of supply, and at the same time Sparta would gain a center for the building and equipment of ships. The conservative ephors had but little sympathy with this scheme; still they were willing to grant to Brasidas a force of Helots and a number of auxiliaries; and with these Brasidas broke through the Athenian lines and marched to Chalcidice. In two years, he had made himself master of the coast; Acanthus, Scione, Mende, Amphipolis, and several other towns had fallen into his hands. Though a general truce was declared in 423 B.C., Brasidas refused to recognize it, and consequently, in 422 B.C., Cleon was sent up into Chalcidice to dislodge him. The two armies met in battle



PYLOS.

162. Brasidas in Chalcidice (424-422 B.C.)

near Amphipolis. The Athenians were completely defeated and Cleon was killed; but the victorious Spartans also lost their general, so that much of the advantage of the victory was lost.

The war had now been going on for ten years. Several

163. Peace of Nicias (421 B.C.) times peace had been proposed, but, as Aristophanes says:—

Aristophanes, Peace, 220. They bit their lips and muttered among themselves:

‘Ah! now my little Athenian, you shall pay for it.’

And if the little Athenian got the better,

Ever so little (when the Spartans came

To treat for peace), they only screamed and made an uproar.”

In 421 B.C., however, both parties were ready for negotiations, and through the instrumentality of Nicias a treaty was signed by both parties, guaranteeing a peace for fifty years on the basis of things as they were before the war.

To carry out these terms proved impossible. The Spartan successor of Brasidas in Chalcidice refused to honor its pro-

164. Failure of the peace visions, and the allies of Sparta were angry because they had not been consulted in arranging the terms. To pre-

vent the threatened outbreak of war, Sparta and Athens, strangely enough, entered into a defensive alliance, but even this did not prevent hostilities. In the Peloponnesus, several states joined Argos, the old enemy of Sparta, in an attempt to overthrow the Lacedæmonian power. Athens was solicited for aid, but held aloof, till she heard that Sparta had allied herself with the oligarchs of Boeotia, and then the war party in Athens came into ascendency once more and resolved to aid the Argive League.

The leader of the war party after the death of Cleon was Alcibiades, a young man of noble family and wonderful versatility, of whom we shall hear much more. Already he was known in Athens for his brilliant parts, for his beauty and grace, and also

Plutarch, Alcibiades for his lawlessness. “Among his many strong passions,” says Plutarch, “the one most prevailing of all was his

ambition and his desire for superiority." It was by him that the Athenians were led to throw in their fortunes with the Argive League. In 418 B.C., the forces of the league met those of Sparta near Mantinea: the result was not long in doubt; the Spartans were still masters in military organization, and the Argives and their allies were totally defeated. Thus ended the attempt to overthrow the Spartan supremacy in the Peloponnesus. Peace was once again restored, and to all outward appearances the war between Athens and Sparta was over. As a matter of fact, the embers were only smoldering.

The Peloponnesian war was the result of the implacable hatred between the Dorian and Ionian Greeks. On the one side, stood Athens, the great representative of democracy; on the other, Sparta, the leader among the oligarchic states. The occasion of the war was the commercial rivalry of Corinth and Athens. First, Athens interfered in a quarrel between Corinth and Corcyra; then, by a rapid series of events, all the rest of Greece was drawn into the war. While Pericles lived, the Athenians followed a conservative, defensive policy in their campaigns, but when he died, a more aggressive set of men took the helm. For the time, success seemed to follow their plans; Mytilene was reduced, Pylos and Cythera were taken, and Athens seemed about to be the victor in the war. But in 424 B.C., Brasidas marched into Chalcidice and wrested the colonies there from the hands of Athens. In 422 B.C., both Cleon and Brasidas were killed, and then the peace of Nicias was agreed upon. The allies of Sparta were dissatisfied with the peace and joined Argos in trying to break the hegemony of Sparta in the Peloponnesus. For a moment, Sparta was threatened; but at the battle of Mantinea she once again showed her superiority in military organization. The league was defeated, and Sparta remained the mistress of the Peloponnesus.

165. *summary*

Thus at the end of thirteen years but little change had taken place in the position of the two enemies. Sparta was still mistress on land and Athens was still mistress at sea.

TOPICS

- Suggestive topics**
- (1) Enumerate the causes of the Peloponnesian war. Was Sparta or Athens more to blame for its outbreak? (2) What was the political relation between a Greek colony and the mother city? (3) Why did not Archidamus besiege Athens and starve the inhabitants into submission? (4) Trace the career of Pericles. What mistakes did he make, and what were the weak points in his character? (5) What weakness in democracy does Cleon illustrate? (6) Is it more dangerous for a democracy to have an ignorant population than it is for a monarchy? (7) Wherein was Brasidas a great general? How did his aims compare with those of Demosthenes? (8) When the peace of Nicias was made, what prevented it from being permanent? Were Spartan and Athenian allies alone responsible for the failure of the peace? (9) What did Sparta have to acquire before she could hope to come out victorious over Athens?
- Search topics**
- (10) A sea fight in ancient times. (11) The plague in Athens. (12) The siege of Plataea. (13) The youth of Alcibiades. (14) The taking of a city in Greek times. (15) What Aristophanes thought of war.

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- Sources** See New England History Teachers' Association, *Historical Sources in Schools*, § 16; Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, ch. 28; Thucydides, bks. ii.-vi.; Plutarch, *Lives*, Pericles, Nicias, Alcibiades; Diodorus, bk. xii.; Aristophanes, *Comedies*, particularly *Acharnians*, *Birds*, *Peace*.
- Illustrative work** A. J. Church, *Callias*.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE END OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE.

As he was dying, Pericles is said to have warned his fellow-citizens not to engage in any new conquests while the struggle with Sparta was going on. That the Athenians speedily forgot this warning was shown in 416 B.C., when Melos, the last independent island in the Ægean, was forced to join the Delian Confederacy.

Next year, Athens embarked in a much more serious venture. Since the days when Gelon was tyrant in southern Sicily, many changes had taken place in the island. Democracy had succeeded tyranny, and a number of independent states, which were constantly at war with one another, had grown up. In these wars, it was the rule to call in aid from the larger Greek states. Ever since 425 B.C., Athens had been toying with the idea of interfering in the affairs of the island; finally, in 415 B.C., Segesta, one of the Ionian cities of the island, appealed to Athens for aid against Selinus and Syracuse. For such aid, they declared, they were ready to pay handsomely. Furthermore, they insinuated, the island of Sicily offered a tempting chance for the expansion of the Athenian empire: for if Athens could subdue Syracuse, the rest of the island was sure to fall into her hands; nay, more, would not the conquest of Sicily be the entering wedge in the conquest of the entire western Mediterranean?

Such were the dreams of empire which the envoys of Segesta aroused in the minds of the Athenians! The older and more conservative men like Nicias shook their heads:

Athens had much better devote her time, they declared, to strengthening her resources for the war with Sparta, which



REMAINS OF A GREEK THEATER AT TAUROMENIUM, SICILY.
Mt. Etna on the right.

was certain to come again, than to engage in such hazardous foreign expeditions; but such advice, while it appealed to those who had property to lose, had little effect upon the young and adventurous spirits who acknowledged Alcibiades as their leader. Nicias could only stand and croak; his voice was drowned by the siren song of Alcibiades.

A veritable delirium swept over the people. Every nerve was strained to make the force which was to be sent to Sicily

167. The mutilation of the Hermæ the largest which had ever set out from Piræus. When spring came, a fleet of several hundred triremes, transports, and merchant vessels lay in the harbor ready to sail.

So far everything had gone well. Even the conservatives had been partly placated by the election of Nicias and Lama-

chus to joint command with Alcibiades. Then suddenly, only a few days before the date set for the sailing, the town was horrified by the mutilation of the Hermae, the rude images of the god Hermes which lined the streets of Athens. Such an affront to the god of commerce could presage naught but ill for the expedition. The impious offenders could not be found, but, curiously enough, suspicion gradually settled down upon Alcibiades. He demanded an immediate trial, but his enemies refused, for they knew that with the army behind him he would surely be acquitted.

Under such a cloud, the expedition sailed. Slowly the ships proceeded to Sicily, only to find that the hopes of conquest which the Segestans had held out were nothing but dreams. Instead of making the best of the situation, the three generals wrangled and delayed when they should have been carrying on a vigorous attack. In the end, a plan of campaign drawn up by Alcibiades was adopted; but unfortunately, he had no opportunity to demonstrate its value, for his enemies at home had been active, and a state galley was sent to Sicily with orders for his recall, to stand trial for the mutilation of the Hermæ. Instead of obeying, Alcibiades escaped to Sparta. The importance of this sudden change can scarcely be exaggerated; here was the man who had been the life of the expedition forced by the activity of his enemies into the camp of the deadliest foe of Athens.

In Sicily, Nicias was now chief in command. His conduct in this crisis is well described by the modern poet Browning, who speaks of this as the time —

“ When poor reluctant Nikias, pushed by fate,
Went faltering against Syracuse.”

*Browning,
Balaustion's
Adventure, 8*

For more than two years, he hesitated and frittered away his time. Meanwhile, Alcibiades was using his knowledge of Athenian affairs to the advantage of Sparta. He advised the

Spartans to send a competent commander to Sicily, and also to undertake another expedition into Attica. Both plans were adopted; Gylippus, a Spartan admiral, was sent to Syracuse, and King Agis was dispatched into Attica to seize and fortify Decelea.

The position of Nicias was now one of extreme danger, and he begged urgently for reinforcements. In the spring of

169. Crush. 413 B.C., Demosthenes was sent to his aid, but it was of the Athenians already too late; things had

gone from bad to worse, and before the summer was over, the entire armament of Athens had been destroyed.

Thus the dream of a western empire had ended in a dreadful awakening. Athens had lost her entire fleet, forty thousand men had been sacrificed, and Nicias, Lam-



SYRACUSE.

Thucydides, chus, and Demosthenes had been killed. "Of all the
viii. 87 Hellenic actions which took place in this war, . . ." says Thucydides, "this was the greatest — the most glorious to the victors, the most ruinous to the vanquished; for they were utterly and at all points defeated; and their sufferings were prodigious. Fleet and army perished from the face of the earth; nothing was saved, and of the many who went forth, few returned home."

In Athens, there was no longer any question of the extension of the empire. Only by most strenuous efforts could the city

170. The war re-sumed in the east (412 B.C.) save itself from utter ruin. The entire form of government was reorganized, every nerve was strained to retain the loyalty of the dependencies, and prodigious activity was expended in recreating the fleet. In the Peloponnesus, on the other hand, joy and triumph overruled every

other thought. From all sides came offers of alliance; even the Persians again began to make advances to the Greeks, offering to support the Spartans in the coming war.

Among all the offers of aid, Sparta finally chose an active alliance with the island of Chios and with Tissaphernes, satrap of southern Asia Minor. Alcibiades was sent to Chios, and the war began. Fortunately for Athens, Samos remained loyal, and with this island as a base, she was able to hold out against her enemies.

The fight was exhausting, and the fate of Athens would not long have been in doubt had not Alcibiades changed front just at this time. The influence of Alcibiades with the Spartans had waned, and to escape ruin he was forced to flee from Chios to the court of Tissaphernes. Here he advised a new policy: "Let the dominion only remain divided," he said, "and then, whichever of the two rivals was troublesome, the Persian king might always use the other against him." Such advice seemed good to Tissaphernes, and he withdrew his support from Sparta.

Alcibiades had in view another object than aiding the Persian king. He was anxious to return to Athens, and believed that now the time was ripe. Consequently, he set in motion an elaborate chain of events intended ultimately to result in his recall. First, he intrigued with those Athenian generals stationed at Samos who favored an oligarchy, and promised to procure aid for Athens from Tissaphernes if the Athenian government were changed to an oligarchy. Encouraged by this information, agents were sent to Athens; conspiracies were organized; and finally, the democracy was overthrown and an oligarchy, known as the Four Hundred, was set up.

Alcibiades was now ready for his second move. The rule of the Four Hundred had no solid foundation; the soldiers especially were opposed to it; consequently, Alcibiades brought

171. Alcibiades deserts the Spartans
Thucydides, viii. 46

172. Political revolution in Athens

it about that the troops declared the change unconstitutional and announced themselves as the only true representatives of the state. This was his chance; he now declared openly that the Athenian commanders had mistaken his purpose, that his sympathies had all along been with the democracy, and therefore he now offered himself to the army as a leader. His offer was eagerly accepted, and he was chosen general by acclamation (411 B.C.).

Alcibiades, however, was not yet ready to return to the city.

173. Alcibiades in command of Athenians Instead, he sailed away to the Hellespont, and spent the next two years there waging fierce war on Sparta and her allies, almost justifying by his success the trickery which had gained him the position of commander.

In 408 B.C., he returned to Athens; and the people, to show their confidence in him, elected him general for the year. Armed with this power, he sailed away to the east once more. Meanwhile things had changed for the better with Sparta also, for the king of Persia had finally resolved to throw in his fortunes with Sparta, and had sent his son Cyrus to Asia Minor to carry out his will; and Sparta had finally found a competent naval commander in Lysander, who was now put in command of the allied fleet. Instead of carefully watching such powerful enemies, Alcibiades sailed away from Samos, leaving explicit orders against engaging the enemy while he was away. Nevertheless, his lieutenant, Antiochus, risked a battle at Notium and was badly defeated. Though Alcibiades was only indirectly responsible for the defeat, the wrath of the Athenians was poured out on his head. His command was discontinued, and he was forced to retire in disgrace to his castle on the Hellespont, never to return to Athens.

So far, the Athenians were still holding their own with fair

174. Battle of Arginusæ (406 B.C.) chances of success, and their naval supremacy seemed to be assured when, in 406 B.C., the fleet met the Spartans near Arginusæ, and the Athenians redeemed

their defeat of the year before by almost annihilating their enemy.

In this campaign, the Athenians had divided the command of their fleet among ten admirals, who might have expected all honor from their fellow-citizens; but they found, when they returned to Athens, that a fearful fate awaited them. After the battle, two of the captains, Theramenes and Thrasybulus, had been ordered to rescue those sailors whose ships had been damaged in the action. A sudden storm made this impossible, and no one could be blamed for the loss of life; but Theramenes, to protect himself from possible punishment, turned fiercely on his superiors and did not rest till the Ecclesia had condemned all ten to death. That such things should be possible, throws volumes of light on the condition of Athens. The age was degenerate: instead of the calm, deliberate assembly of the days of Pericles, the Ecclesia was now a mere mob, led this way and that by the lowest type of demagogues and sycophants, who set up and tore down commanders at their will.

The end was now fast approaching. In 405 B.C., the Spartans again sent Lysander to the east at the request of the allies. Under his leadership, the ships sailed away to the Hellespont, where the Athenians were lying at the mouth of the *Ægospotami*. Day after day, the Athenians offered battle, but Lysander refused to engage. He waited his chance, and one day while the Athenian sailors were absent from their ships, he sailed in suddenly and captured the whole fleet. The Athenians returned in haste, but it was too late; instead of saving the triremes, they themselves fell into the hands of Lysander and were all put to death. Since the days of the Sicilian disaster, Athens had suffered no loss comparable to this: at one blow, Lysander deprived her of almost two hundred triremes and over three thousand men.

The sad news traveled fast; when it reached Athens, a panic took possession of the city. For days the people awaited the

175. The
disaster at
the *Ægos-*
potami
(405 B.C.)

coming of Lysander, who was reducing the islands of the Ægean to submission. Early in 404 B.C., he appeared before
176. End of the Piræus and blockaded the harbor. In sheer despera-
^{the war} tion, the people held out for a month or more, but in
^(404 B.C.) the end they were forced to sue for peace.

The day of triumph had come to the Peloponnesian League. Thebes and Corinth insisted upon the total destruction of the city, but Sparta was more generous; she was willing to grant peace, provided Athens would submit to the razing of her walls and the destruction of all the fleet except twelve ships. Furthermore, Athens must acknowledge the hegemony of Sparta, and allow all the banished oligarchs to return to the city. The terms were hard, but Athens had no alternative, and submitted. In April, Lysander entered the Piræus, the walls of Athens were destroyed, and the triumph of the Peloponnesians was complete.

In 415 B.C., Alcibiades induced the Athenians to engage in the Sicilian expedition. Though we may doubt, with Nicias,
177. Sum- the wisdom of sending out that expedition, there certainly
^{mary} seems to have been no adequate reason for endangering its success, as the Athenians did, by the recall of Alcibiades. From the moment when Alcibiades deserted the fleet and fled to Sparta, everything went wrong. At the end of two years, Athens had lost in the venture precious ships, men, and treasure, and from the effects of that expedition the city never recovered. For nearly ten years she made a gallant fight, sometimes with greater, sometimes with smaller success; but the rise of a Spartan naval power under the admiral Lysander sounded the death knell of the imperial city, and in 404 B.C. she bowed her head to the Spartan conqueror. The war was fierce and long, it lasted almost a generation, and its effects were stupendous; for within that generation Athens fell from the position of leader in a great empire to a place where her very existence

depended upon the mercy of Sparta. One other thing the war decided: namely, that oligarchy and not democracy should be the prevailing form of government in Greece.



COINS OF SYRACUSE.

TOPICS

(1) Why was the Sicilian expedition inopportune? (2) What mistake did the Athenians make when they heard the accounts of the Segestan ambassadors? (3) Do you think the Athenians were patriotic in recalling Alcibiades? (4) Considering the Greek character, does the conduct of Alcibiades surprise you? Is there any man in the early history of this country with whom you could compare him? (5) Was democracy responsible for the Sicilian expedition? (6) Why were all the Greek states so ready to desert Athens? Why was Persia glad of her defeat? (7) On what theory was Alcibiades held responsible for the defeat at Notium? (8) With what other mistakes of the Athenians would you compare the condemnation of the victors at Arginusæ? What was responsible for such a verdict? (9) In what way was the victory of Arginusæ responsible for the defeat at Ægospotami? (10) Would the Athenians have been compelled to surrender if the Piræus had been strong enough to withstand the attacks of Lysander? Give your reasons. (11) What do you think was the real weakness of Athens — her empire or her democracy?

Suggestive topics

(12) Who chose the generals at Athens? In what way did their election differ from that of other officials? (13) Why was the destruction of the Hermæ thought to be a great crime? (14) The education of Alcibiades. (15) Thucydides's account of the defeat of the Athenians at Syracuse. (16) Map showing the scenes of the principal naval battles in which Athens had a part. (17) Sicilian coins. (18) The Athenian hoplite.

Search topics

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CHAPTER XV.

THE TRIUMPH AND THE DEGRADATION OF SPARTA

FROM the beginning to the end of the Peloponnesian war, in every campaign and in all negotiations, Sparta had posed as the liberator of Greece. Now that war was over, "in place of imperial Athens, was substituted, not the promised autonomy, but yet more imperial Sparta." No hope of independence was to be thought of under the rule of such a man as Lysander. In most of the cities, he gave the government into the hands of citizens unalterably in favor of oligarchy; usually, the authority was vested in a body of ten men, called a Decarchy. To support the government, a Spartan garrison, under command of a Harmost, was regularly stationed in the subject city. Under this twofold slavery, as Xenophon calls it, the people suffered all manner of indignities. In the days of the Athenian empire, the cities had prospered; now, between the oligarchs who had old scores to settle, and the harmosts who held everything non-Spartan in contempt, all Greece cried out for a return to the days when Athens was supreme.

Athens herself fared no better than the other cities. Here, instead of a decarchy, a tyranny of thirty men, all Athenians, was created. This body, chosen ostensibly to recodify the law, maintained itself in power for almost two years. "The laws," says Xenophon, "were always on the point of being published, yet they were never forthcoming."

At first, the "Thirty," under the leadership of Critias and

Theramenes, acted in perfect harmony. They got rid of their opponents by banishment, by confiscations, and even by executions. Then Theramenes, perceiving that disaster was sure to follow this wholesale persecution, endeavored to check his more reckless colleagues. Critias, instead of taking the warning, boldly accused his coadjutor, and had him put to death.

Meanwhile, the exiles from Athens were gathering in large numbers in Thebes. Finally, seventy of them, under the



THE PIRÆUS, THE PORT OF ATHENS. (Restoration.)

leadership of Thrasybulus, made a raid into Attica and established themselves at Phyle. Many recruits gathered about them, till, in the spring of 403 B.C., Thrasybulus felt strong enough to occupy Piræus. The tyrants sallied forth to dislodge him; but they were defeated in battle, and Critias was killed. In Athens, the power of the oligarchs was fast fading away; to save the party, the Thirty were deposed, and in their place a board of ten was elected. Still, the flood of democracy was not to be stayed, and the oligarchs carried an appeal to Sparta. Unfortunately for them, the power of Lysander, their patron, was on the wane, and consequently the Spartans con-

tented themselves with making a mere show of power, so that, before the year was out, the democrats under Thrasybulus were in control of the city.

While these things were going on in Greece, a crisis was developing in the east. In 404 B.C., Darius, the Persian king, had died; and his eldest son, Artaxerxes, had succeeded him. Cyrus, a younger son, also claimed the throne, and gathering an army in Asia Minor, set out for Persia to depose his brother. Among his troops were large numbers of Greeks, in whom Cyrus placed great confidence because of their superior fighting ability. At Cunaxa, near ancient Babylon, the brothers met in battle. Though the Greeks behaved gallantly and showed their superiority over the Persians, Cyrus was overwhelmed by the superior numbers of Artaxerxes; he himself was killed, and the Greeks escaped only with great difficulty. Still, though the odds against them were prodigious, by pursuing a long and difficult route they finally made their way back to Asia Minor. In itself, the affair had but little to do with the progress of Greek history; indirectly, its consequences were momentous, for the Greeks who marched with Cyrus learned to know how weak the Persian empire had grown; and from this time on the project of the conquest of the east was never absent from the minds of the Greeks, till three quarters of a century later it was actually accomplished by Alexander.

Tissaphernes, the successor of Cyrus in Asia Minor, determined to punish the Ionian cities for their participation in the expedition of Cyrus. The cities, thus menaced, called upon Sparta for aid, and an army was at once dispatched; but the war dragged on for several years without any decisive results, for the Spartans had no competent commander in the field.

Meanwhile an important change had taken place in Sparta, for Agesilaus had been elected king. Up to his election,

180. Story
of the "Ten
Thousand"

181. War
with Persia
renewed

Agesilaus had shown no aptitude beyond the ordinary virtues of a well-trained Spartan. At that time he was forty years

182. The coming of Agesilaus (400-395 B.C.) old, a small man, lame in one leg, and insignificant in appearance: yet his cheerfulness and constant readiness to do his full share of work gave him popularity among this athletic race.

Lysander advocated his election, but in all probability he did so because he expected through him to dominate Spartan politics. If this was his hope, he was soon disappointed; for Agesilaus, after thoroughly establishing himself at home, and gaining the good will of all classes, in 396 b.c. proceeded to Asia Minor to carry on the war against the Persians. In two years he succeeded in driving the Persians out of all their strongholds in Ionia, and had even begun to think of carrying the war into the heart of Persia itself, when news came that he was wanted at home.

Throughout the Peloponnesian war, Sparta had been supported by the stanchest of allies, but when the war was over,

**Xenophon, iii. 5
183. War among the Greek states (395-387 B.C.)** as Xenophon says, "The Lacedæmonians had gained what they wanted, but not one fractional part of empire, honor, or wealth did their faithful followers receive." The Thebans and Corinthians especially murmured against such treatment, and ten years had not passed till they became so dissatisfied with existing conditions that they entered into alliance with their former enemy, Athens, and with the help of Persian gold began to make war upon the tyrant city.

In that war, everything went wrong for Sparta. Lysander was killed, and the king, Pausanias, was found so incompetent that he was tried for neglect of duty and deposed from the throne. Nothing remained but to call Agesilaus home. Even he could not stem the tide which had set in against the Lacedæmonians. Scarcely had he set foot in Greece when news of a terrible disaster was brought to him. Off Cnidus, in Caria, Conon, the Athenian admiral, had met and completely defeated

the Spartan fleet. So complete was the rout, that by this one battle Athens again re-established her supremacy on the sea. From Cnidus, Conon proceeded from island to island, deposing the decarchies and restoring the democrats to power. In 393 B.C., he finally entered the Piræus, and before the Spartans could interfere, the walls of Athens were rebuilt.

The war dragged on for six years longer; then, after long negotiations, Sparta succeeded in inducing the Persian king to interfere in favor of peace. This peace is known as the peace of Antalcidas, from the Spartan who negotiated it. Its terms are as follows: "The king, Artaxerxes, deems it just that the cities of Asia, with the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should belong to him; the rest of the Hellenic cities, both small and great, he thinks it just to leave independent, with the exception of Lemnos, Imbros, and Samos,—these shall belong to Athens as of yore."

184. Peace
of Antalcidas (387
B.C.)
*Xenophon,
Hellenica,
v. 1*

Thus was peace declared after eight years of war. Still, the sacrifice which Greece made was great. By allowing the king of Persia to dictate the terms, the cities made him the arbiter of Greek affairs; and that was just what the old heroes from Miltiades to Cimon had labored to prevent.

Though the allies—Thebes, Corinth, and Athens—seemed to have been favored by the peace of Antalcidas, the sequel proved that its provisions might be interpreted in favor of Sparta. By the terms of peace, the allies must disband their association and cease to restrain any of their neighbors; on the other hand, Sparta was now relieved from war, and could again pursue her schemes of aggrandizement. The first move was made against Mantinea, which was ruthlessly destroyed, and the citizens scattered through the neighboring villages. Next, the Chalcidian Confederacy, which had grown up in the north, was attacked and completely disrupted.

185. Spar-
tan aggres-
sions from
385 to 379
B.C.

More important than either of these two acts of oppression was the treachery practiced on Thebes. In 383 B.C., while

the two cities were at peace, a Spartan commander on his way to Chalcidice seized and held Cadmea, the acropolis of



COIN OF THEBES.

Thebes. A cry of protest went up from all over Greece, but, in her new-born insolence, Sparta gave no relief. The commander was punished, it is true; but the citadel was retained and the government of

Thebes was so shaped that Spartan influence became supreme.

Although Sparta was apparently once more mistress of Greece, and oligarchy was still triumphant, a crash was im-

6. Revo-
tion in
Thebes
79 B.C.)
pending. Among the Theban exiles living in Athens
was Pelopidas, who set to work almost at once to organ-
ize a conspiracy for the purpose of deposing the oli-
garchs and regaining his city. Within Thebes, meanwhile, the
patriots were secretly organized for the coming revolution by
the lifelong friend of Pelopidas, Epaminondas, who had been
allowed to remain in Thebes, because the oligarchs had not
thought it worth while to disturb such a dreamer as he. Had
they only known it, he was even more dangerous than Pelopi-
das, for he was instilling into the hearts of the youth that love
of liberty and that power of endurance which were ultimately
to break forever the supremacy of the Spartan conquerors.

In 379 B.C., when all was ready, Pelopidas and his followers left Athens in twos and threes, and secretly gained admission to Thebes. When all had arrived, the revolution was begun, the oligarchs were put out of the way to the last man, and then the citizens were summoned and a new republic declared. Next, the Spartan garrison was driven out of Cadmea, and Pelopidas and his followers were masters of Thebes. The result of this revolution was that all Greece was again involved in war: on the one side, the democracies, led by Thebes and Athens; on the other, the oligarchies, led by Sparta.

For eight years (379–371 B.C.) the struggle went on, Thebes constantly improving her position among the states; finally, in 371 B.C., the Athenians, who had grown jealous of their ally, proposed that a peace conference should be held in Sparta. The proposal was accepted, and the negotiations went smoothly enough, and universal peace seemed about to prevail. But when the time for signing the treaty arrived, and Agesilaus offered to sign for the Peloponnesian allies of Sparta, Epaminondas demanded that he should be allowed to do the same for the Boeotian allies of Thebes. Agesilaus indignantly rejected this demand; and as neither side was willing to make any concessions, the war began where it had been suspended when the convention was called.

Just at this time it happened that the other Spartan king, Cleombrotus, was encamped in Phocis, and he was at once directed by messenger to renew the war. The Thebans were ready, and the two armies met at Leuctra in Boeotia. Epaminondas was in command of the Thebans; instead of forming his battle line in the traditional way, in extended order, ten or twelve deep, he massed his best troops on the left of his line, and with this wedge he opened the battle. The effect was what he expected: the right wing of the Spartans, where Cleombrotus himself was stationed, was completely routed, and the king was killed. The rest of the Spartan army soon gave way, and the Thebans left the field as victors.

Thus were the hitherto invincible Spartans beaten for the first time in open battle: the old Spartan military glory was gone, and a new military power had come into the world. The wedge which Epaminondas used in battle was the beginning of a new battle formation; a quarter of a century later it was still further developed, and in the hands of the kings of Macedon this Phalanx became absolutely invincible.

The news of the battle of Leuctra came as a thunderbolt to Greece. In Sparta, especially, its effect was overpowering;

187. Peace
conference
at Sparta

188. Battle
of Leuctra
(371 B.C.)

yet the people took the matter stoically, there was no mourning or confusion; they simply prepared for the invasion which

189. Degrada- they felt was soon to follow. Almost at once, the whole dation of of the Peloponnesus fell away from the Spartan alliance; Sparta the Mantineans, for instance, who had been driven out of their city ten years before, prepared to rebuild their walls, relying on the assistance of Thebes if Sparta should interfere. The rest of Arcadia followed the lead of Mantinea, and within the year a new Arcadian league was founded, with its capital at the new city, Megalopolis.

As the Spartans expected, Epaminondas entered the Peloponnesus with his army fresh from the victory at Leuctra.

Plutarch, Agesilaus “It was now six hundred years since the Dorians had possessed Laconia; in all that time, the face of an enemy had not been seen within their territories.” Yet so low had the magic of the Spartan name fallen, that Epaminondas marched boldly into Laconia, and only by most heroic efforts was Agesilaus able to save the city itself from destruction. Foiled in his attempt to capture Sparta, Epaminondas turned to the west and invaded Messenia. Within a few months, he freed the Messenian Helots, who had been under the Spartan yoke for almost three hundred years, and set up for them a new and independent state. Scarcely a year had passed since Agesilaus had proudly rubbed the name of Thebes from the treaty of peace; now Sparta had sunk from her position as arbiter of the fate of Greece to the rank of a secondary power. A few years before every Greek city had bowed to her will; now she was scarcely mistress of the land ten miles from the outskirts of the city.

For nine years, under the leadership of Epaminondas and **190. Period Pelopidas**, Thebes kept her position as the leading of Theban supremacy (371-362 B.C.) city in Greece. While Epaminondas made repeated expeditions into the Peloponnesus, Pelopidas carried the Theban arms north into Thessaly and Macedonia. Yet

even under the leadership of these two brilliant men, the position of Thebes was not wholly secure. Neither Athens nor Sparta had succeeded in building up a stanch empire, nor was it given to Thebes to find a way to hold what her generals had conquered. Athens had ruled by means of her navy and her tribute collectors; Sparta had ruled through her harmosts and her decarchies; the power of Thebes was even less stable, for it rested upon the genius of two men, Epaminondas and Pelopidas; when they were gone, the Theban power was certain to fall to pieces.

In 364 B.C., Pelopidas invaded Thessaly for the last time, and was killed in a battle fought at Cynoscephalæ. Two



MANTINEA.

again the Spartan forces were routed. But the battle cost the Thebans dear, for in his eagerness to wrest victory from the foe, Epaminondas was mortally wounded. Lying on the field, with a spearhead in his side, he lived long enough to learn the result of the battle; then, when he was told that both his lieutenants were dead, he drew the spearhead from the wound, and, as he lay dying, advised the Thebans to make peace.

Thus the two leaders of the Theban greatness died on the field of battle. Both have lived in history as men of the very

191. Pass-
ing of Pelop-
idas and
Epaminon-
das

years later, Epam-
inondas, against
whom many of
the former allies
were now arrayed,
marched into the Pe-
lonnesus for the fourth
time. The two armies
met in battle near Man-
tinea. Once again the
now famous Theban
formation was brought
into play, and once

noblest character. Not a word has ever been breathed against the purity of their motives, or the unselfish patriotism which

**192. Im-
possi-
bility
of union
within
Greece** actuated them in all their deeds. If they failed to remedy the disunion which had torn Hellas ever since the dawn of its history, the failure must be charged not to their incompetence, but to the incapacity of the Hellenes for union in any form.

Had Epaminondas lived, Theban supremacy might have lasted a few years longer ; that it would have been permanent, is not in the least probable. Had the Spartans won at Mantinea, the old state of things would have come into existence *Xenophon, Hellenica, vii. 5* once more. As it was, "uncertainty and confusion had gained ground, being tenfold greater throughout the length and breadth of Hellas after the battle than before." To establish a union from within was a hopeless task ; fortunately for the world and for the spread of civilization, a power was growing in the north which was to bring about that union which no Greek state had been strong enough to accomplish.

By the terms of peace which ended the Peloponnesian war, in 404 b.c., Sparta became absolute mistress of Greece. Her **193. Sum-
mary** supremacy she used, not to give the cities the liberty which she had promised, but to bind them to her empire even more closely than Athens had ever done. In every city, an oligarchy was established and a Spartan garrison quartered under the command of a harmost to do the will of the tyrant state. In less than ten years, all the cities were ready to revolt. In 395 b.c., they took up arms, and, under the leadership of Corinth, Thebes, and Athens, succeeded so far as to force Sparta to agree to the terms of the peace of Antalcidas (387 b.c.). The peace proved to be a new lease of power to the Spartans, and during eight years longer, they maintained their supremacy in Greece. Then came the revolt of Thebes and the new war which culminated in the battle of Leuctra

(371 B.C.). From the day of the battle, for a period of nine years, Thebes was the leader in Greece. With the death of her two captains, Epaminondas and Pelopidas, her glory also passed away, and Greece was left once more a prey to strife and dissension, which no power from within could ever still.

TOPICS

(1) Contrast the rule of Sparta with that of Athens. Which was preferable? Why? (2) Compare Agesilaus with Lysander as regards ability and character. (3) Was the loss of naval supremacy of more serious consequence to Sparta or to Athens? Why? (4) Who gained and who suffered by the peace of Antalcidas? Had Athens been in her old position, would she have agreed to it? (5) To what were the victories of the Thebans over the Spartans due? (6) Had Sparta been a maritime city, could Epaminondas have crippled her power more or less easily? (7) Why was Theban supremacy so short? (8) In times of stress which government showed itself more stable—Athens or Sparta? How do you account for this?

Suggestive topics

(9) Reasons for the failure of Athens, Sparta, and Thebes to bring about Greek unity. (10) Spartan harmosts. (11) The Thirty Tyrants in Athens. (12) Xenophon's account of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand. (13) The military system of Epaminondas. (14) The allies of Thebes. (15) Spartan bravery.

Search topics

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CHAPTER XVI.

PHILIP OF MACEDON, THE CONQUEROR OF GREECE

Down to the battle of Mantinea, the history of Greece is that of a comparatively small country, whose people were intent on maintaining their individuality against the whole world. It is true that the race had spread over most of the Mediterranean coasts; but Greek civilization had not penetrated beyond the fringes of the sea. It remained for a newer and fresher race to spread that civilization far and wide over the ancient world.

North of Thessaly lies a country called Macedonia, which is divided by nature into three parts: first, Chalcidice, the 194. **Mace-** land along the *Æ*gean Sea, where the Greeks had estab-
don: the lished themselves in days long past; second, the plain,
land and which was watered by three rivers flowing into the *Æ*gean
people Sea; and third, the highlands, which consisted of a number of separate valleys, cut off from each other by high mountain walls, and inaccessible from the plains except by rugged mountain passes.

In the beginning, the people of both highlands and lowlands were rude and semicivilized; but gradually, by contact with Chalcidice and Greece, the men of the lowlands advanced in civilization, and then, by their superior organization, reduced the highland tribes to partial subjection. Still, the men of Macedon were far different from their southern neighbors; accustomed to an outdoor life, spending their days in hunting wild beasts and fighting with each other, they offered the best material imaginable for an army; all they lacked was organization, and that was finally supplied by the kings of the low-

land district. Of these the first to stamp his character on history was Philip of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great.

When Philip was but a youth, and his brothers were kings, the land was torn by revolutions within and interference from without. Sometime about 368 B.C., Pelopidas entered the country and carried the young Philip off as a hostage to Thebes. There the young man saw the best that Greek civilization had produced. With two such models as Epaminondas and Pelopidas to study, and a mind eager to receive whatever was to be learned, he allowed little that was good in the political or military system of Thebes to escape him. In 365 B.C., he returned to his native land, eager to put his new ideas into practice. At first he had to content himself with whatever authority his brother was willing to bestow upon him; but six years later (359 B.C.), when his brother died, he ascended the throne, and at once set to work to reorganize the kingdom.

195. The
youth of
Philip

Philip's task was heavy. First he set to work to bring the various mountain tribes under his rule. Next, he thoroughly reorganized his army. He began by adopting, in principle, the new formations which he had learned in Thebes. Instead, however, of arming his infantry like the Greek hoplites, he abandoned almost all defensive armor, and improved the defense of his troops by lengthening the spear of his infantry so that the enemy could not reach his first rank without serious loss. This infantry, the mainstay of the army, ranged in ranks sixteen deep, and armed with the long spear, formed the famous phalanx of the Macedonians. In addition, the army had a body of light-armed infantry, a regular cavalry, and a body of specially picked horsemen, the "Companions," who acted as a bodyguard to the king. Finally,

196. Phil-
ip's mili-
tary reor-
ganization



COIN OF PHILIP.

there were the artillerymen, who manipulated the catapults and battering rams; and the corps of engineers. Such an army, recruited from the peasants and mountaineers of Macedonia, organized and led by a military genius like Philip, could not fail to make its mark in the world's history.

Having seated himself firmly on the throne and reorganized his army, Philip now resolved to become master of Chalcidice,

197. Philip becomes master in Chalcidice (357 B.C.) ice, and the towns on the shore of the sea. First, by skillful diplomacy, he succeeded in taking possession of Amphipolis, which the Athenians had always claimed as a dependency. Then, by making bold promises, and by distributing gifts with a liberal hand, he drew into an alliance with him Olynthus, the most important city in Chalcidice, and her allies. Finally, he seized the town of Pydna; and before the end of the year 357 B.C., he was either master or close ally of every important town from Pydna to Amphipolis.

Frightened by the rapid growth of Macedonian power, Athens determined to declare war; but the chance of checking Philip was ruined by the revolt of the Athenian allies in the east. Though the cities of the Ægean and Ionia had joined Athens voluntarily in a new league in 377 B.C., they were tired of their bargain and did not rest till, in 355 B.C., they had gained complete independence. Meanwhile, Philip had fastened on Chalcidice, and Athens was powerless to undo the work.

Meantime affairs in central Greece led to Macedonian intervention. In 356 B.C., the Thebans trumped up a charge of

198. Philip's first Greek campaign (353-352 B.C.) sacrilege against their enemies, the Phocians, and cited them before the Amphictyonic Council, the great council of Hellenic states which had charge of the Delphian oracle. The Phocians refused to obey the summons or to pay the fine which the council imposed, and thus the matter came to war. To maintain themselves in the contest, the Phocians seized upon the treasures of the oracle, and for a time success attended their arms.

One of their campaigns led them into Thessaly, which was at the time divided between two factions. Here in 353 and 352 b.c. they were met by Philip, who had been called in to aid one of the factions. Though Philip was defeated at first, in his second campaign he routed the Phocians, killed the general in command, and prepared to enter central Greece. At this crisis, the Athenians, who saw in this movement a possible conquest of the whole land, roused themselves in time



SITE OF DELPHI.

The modern town Kastri in the picture covers the spot that was occupied by the temple of the oracle.

to meet the Macedonians at Thermopylæ; as a result, Philip was checked and forced to withdraw once more into the north. Still, his was a waiting game, and lack of success in any particular campaign did not dampen his ardor.

In spite of this victory at Thermopylæ, the condition of central Greece was in no wise improved. Athens only 199. Political conditions in Athens about 350 B.C.
was capable of offering any serious opposition to Philip, and in Athens political conditions were far from healthy. There existed in the city none of that unity which had

characterized it in the days of Pericles; there were no longer any leaders such as there had been in the days of old; and, most important of all, the citizens had ceased to take any vivid personal interest in political affairs. Instead of serving in the army themselves, they followed the prevailing custom of the age, and hired mercenaries to do military service for them. Furthermore, the dream of empire had passed; they were content to live in peace and enjoy the little that they had rather than to suffer the hardships of war and garrison duty incident to the control of a large empire.

One man in Athens, however, had not relinquished all hope of seeing his city again at the head of Hellas and opposed to all foreign aggressions. That man was Demosthenes. From his earliest years, he had trained himself for the career of an orator and advocate, and though at first his success as a public speaker was scanty, in the end he blossomed forth as the greatest orator that Athens or any other ancient city ever produced.

Confirmed in the idea that the mission of Athens was still the same as in the days of Pericles, he kept up an unending cry for reform and for a more aggressive foreign policy. If Athens was to lead in Greece, the power of Philip must be destroyed; therefore, Demosthenes devoted his whole mature

*Plutarch,
Demos-
thenes* life to the arraignment of this arch enemy. "Whatever was done by the Macedonian, he criticised and found fault with; and upon all occasions, he stirred up the people of



DEMOSTHENES.

Glyptothek, Munich.

Athens and inflamed them against him." That the motives of Demosthenes were honest, we can scarcely doubt; whether he was wise, is an open question. Had he lived a century earlier, his influence would have been entirely beneficent; but in his day, the freedom which he was contending for was little more than a hindrance to the development of the race; what Greece now needed was a strong hand which could unite the various factions and lead them on to a wider influence in the world. Such a hand Philip was offering; had Athens accepted it, she might have shared in the great work which was about to begin. It is due to the influence of Demosthenes that the offer was rejected, and consequently Athens continued in her narrow rut, while the Macedonian was carrying Greek culture to the eastern confines of the ancient world.

For five years the cities of Chalcidice had faithfully observed their alliance with Philip; but in 352 b.c. Olynthus, frightened at the growing power of Macedon, resolved to break the treaty which bound her to Philip, and to appeal to Athens for a new alliance. Athens accepted at once. Apparently, Philip paid no attention to this breach of faith; but, after three years, he found a pretense for declaring war, and moved his army into Chalcidice. The Olynthians at once hurried away to Athens for aid, where they found Demosthenes ready to support their demands before the assembly; for he believed that with the safety of Olynthus was bound up the safety of Athens.

"Therefore," cried he, "I say you must take heart and spirit and apply yourselves more than ever to the war, contributing promptly, serving personally, leaving nothing undone." Through a series of three orations, which stand among the greatest in the world's literature, Demosthenes exhorted his countrymen; but his words had little effect. Though Athens sent aid, the service rendered was half-hearted, and in the course of two years the cities of Chal-

201. Philip
master to
Thermopy-
lae (347
B.C.)

*Demosthe-
nes, 1st
Olynthiac*

cidice, one after another, fell into the hands of Philip. Resolved that this part of the Hellenic world should trouble him no more, he razed the cities to the ground, killed most of the men, and sold the women and children into slavery. From Thermopylæ on the south to the Hellespont on the east, Philip was now master without a rival.

South of Thermopylæ, too, all Greece felt his growing power. Even Demosthenes, for the moment, seemed to think that the

202. Peace struggle was hopeless. In company with several other of Philocrates (346 B.C.) Athenians, he traveled north to sound the king as to his willingness to make peace. Philip was ready, and as a result of the negotiations, a peace, known as the peace of Philocrates, was signed. It was provided that the two parties, Macedonia and Athens, should henceforth live in amity; war was to cease in all parts of Hellas; only Phocis was reserved by Philip for punishment on account of the desecration of the shrine of the god Apollo.

With no other enemy to molest him, Philip made short work of his campaign in Phocis. With the approval of the Amphic-

203. Philip tyonic Council, he passed through Thermopylæ, broke admitted to down such resistance as still existed, destroyed those the Amphictyony towns in which the war had centered, and decreed that the people should pay back to the oracle the money which they had appropriated ten years before. Then he had the Amphictyons decree that Phocis had lost her vote, and that henceforth the vote should belong to Macedonia. By this action, Philip reached the second stage in his progress toward the overlordship in Greece. First he had made himself master of Chalcidice; now he had secured for himself a seat in the great Hellenic council, which gave him the right to interfere legitimately in the affairs of the land.

The struggle was not yet over. Demosthenes, though he had acquiesced in the peace of Philocrates, soon repented and did all he could to stir up Greece against the Macedonian.

After four or five years of nominal peace, open hostilities broke out again. Byzantium and the cities of the Hellespont were the prize for which the two parties were fighting. Of the war, we know but little; apparently, Philip was beaten; certainly he was forced to abandon his attempt to annex these cities, and Demosthenes found cause to exult in the assembly over the reverses of his enemy.

This war in the east proved to be only a preliminary skirmish. In 339 B.C., the Amphictyonic Council declared that the town of Amphissa in Locris had committed a sacrilege against the shrine and must pay a fine. Amphissa, following the example of the Phocians, resisted, and war began. But the council now had a more powerful weapon than it had had eighteen years before: Philip and his army were now at its service, and Philip was eager to undertake the task of punishing Amphissa.

Philip marched into Greece in 338 B.C. Passing through Thermópyle, he intrenched himself at Elatea, in northern Phocis. Demosthenes and his party, who were anxious to try conclusions with Philip, assumed that in fortifying Elatea Philip had abandoned the war upon Amphissa and was preparing to attack Athens. Accordingly, every nerve was strained to prepare the city for the coming struggle. Besides summoning aid from all the allies whom Athens had made in the years since the peace of Philocrates, Demosthenes now proposed that Athens should send an embassy to Thebes, whose sympathies had all along been with Philip, begging the city to come to the aid of the Athenians in this struggle of Hellas against Macedonia. Much to Philip's surprise and disgust, the Thebans resolved to stand beside their fellow-Hellenes in the war. Thus, when Philip marched south from Elatea, he found a considerable Greek army arrayed against him.

Had the Greeks united fifteen years before, they might have crushed the Macedonian power; now, Philip had grown too strong even for a united Greece. The two forces met in battle

204. War
between
Athens and
Philip re-
newed (339
B.C.)

205. Battle
of Charonea
(338 B.C.)

at Chæronea, in northern Boeotia, and the result was not long in doubt. Before the day was over, the Greeks were routed and Philip was master of Greece from Mount Olympus to the southern end of Attica. On that day, Hellas ceased to be free and became a dependency of Macedonia. Well might Philip give way to transports of joy! Had he not accomplished his greatest ambition? Was he not master of the center of Hellenic civilization and of the greater part of the Hellenic world?

To the Greeks the battle of Chæronea seemed the greatest calamity which had yet befallen the land. After almost twenty-five centuries, we may take a different view of the matter. It is true that a free Hellas was henceforth a thing of the past; but, after all, free Hellas had done its work in the world. It had developed the idea of individual freedom in government, it had created standards of art and literature which are still the highest in the world: what was now needed was some newer and more vital force to carry these ideas and institutions into the wider world beyond the confines of Greece. That this force was not to be found in the land itself had been proved by all the events since the days of Pericles; newer and more energetic blood than that of the Hellenes was needed, and that newer blood was found in Macedonia.

In the twenty-one years (359–338 B.C.) that Philip was king he accomplished three important tasks. During the first two years of his reign, he unified his kingdom and made it secure against the enemies who hovered on its borders. Then he gained control of Chalcidice; that is, of an outlet for his kingdom on the Ægean Sea. That task was partly completed as early as 357 B.C., but it was not till the fall of Olynthus, in 347 B.C., that his control was complete. Finally, he made himself master of Greece by a series of events beginning

with his first interference in Thessaly in 353 b.c., and ending on the field of Chæronea in 338 b.c. A fourth task remained upon which he had undoubtedly mused long before this: to carry his conquests into the east, against the Persian king.

TOPICS

- (1) What other Hellenic country had physical and political divisions like Macedonia? (2) Why did the people of the lowlands advance in civilization more rapidly than those of the highlands? (3) Why has no inland country ever become a leader of nations? (4) Why was the hiring of mercenaries a weakness? Give an example from the Revolutionary War in this country. (5) Was the organization of Philip's army responsible for his victories? How did it compare with the army of Epaminondas? with that of Sparta? (6) If the Greeks had won at Chæronea, do you think they would have become unified? Give your reasons.
- (7) What can be said against the view of Demosthenes as to the danger to Greece? (8) Events in Macedonia after the fall of Greece. (9) The Macedonian phalanx. (10) An account of the Amphictyonic Council. (11) The works of art in Delphi. (12) An account of one of the speeches of Demosthenes. (13) The character of Philip. (14) Causes for the fall of Greece.

Suggestive topics

Search topics

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CHAPTER XVII.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT: THE CONQUEST OF THE EAST

THE subjection of Greece was only a step in the accomplishment of Philip's greatest ambition, the conquest of Persia.

208. Pacification of Greece (338-337 B.C.) Before he could undertake an expedition to the east, however, he was obliged to arrange his affairs in Greece.

Thebes, which had deserted him in his hour of need, was severely punished; its walls were dismantled, a garrison introduced into Cadmea, the government handed over to the oligarchs, and the Theban captives either put to death or sold into slavery. Athens was treated more leniently. Instead of marching against the city as the people expected, Philip offered the assembly an honorable peace. The city was to retain its liberty, its captives were to be restored, and the Athenians were to be treated as equals by the Macedonians. Needless to say, Athens gladly accepted these terms, and Philip was free to carry out his other schemes.

First he suppressed such opposition as still existed in the Peloponnesus; then, in 337 b.c., he called the Greeks together

209. Philip in council at Corinth, where he outlined his future policy.

prepares to invade Persia He proposed to form an Hellenic League, whose members were to govern themselves according to their ancient customs, who were to be free in their commerce and trade as of old; whose only obligation to Macedonia should be to support the king in his coming expedition against Persia. The Greek cities accepted the arrangement, because they could not do otherwise; but their support was not sincere, and consequently they lost the opportunity of being active participants in the expedition soon to be undertaken, for which the best

and most far-seeing men of Hellas had been praying for the last half century.

Preparations went on actively, and by 336 B.C. Philip was ready to start for Asia Minor. He was never to accomplish his purpose, however, for he was foully murdered just when he was about to begin his journey, at the age of forty-seven, in the full height of his glory; and thus, for the moment, his schemes of conquest were left without a leader.

In person, this great prince was of noble presence, a bold rider, a good swimmer, and a finished athlete. He had a keen appreciation of the art and literature which have made the Greek so famous; yet his whole life was devoted to most serious purposes. When he had an end to reach, no exertion, mental or physical, was too great for him. If he could not win by straightforward methods, he was not above trying crooked diplomacy: bribery, flattery, and false promises were made to serve his ends, where honest dealing and open force could not succeed; but he preferred honest means to chicanery, and for that we must give him credit. Often he was cruel, but cruelty was common in his age, and therefore he is no more blameworthy than the Spartan generals or the Athenian mobs. His greatest genius showed itself in his military organization, in his ability to choose the right men to serve him, in his perfect comprehension of the possibilities of every situation, and in his inflexible determination to reach his goal. Never hurrying, never impatient, he moved steadily onward with his eyes ever fixed on the goal of his ambition. Were he not overshadowed by his still greater son, his would be the most brilliant career in all Greek history.

When Philip died, his only legitimate heir was Alexander, a lad of twenty. That such a boy could take up the work where his father had left it, seemed beyond human expectation, but Alexander at once proved himself a worthy successor of his father. With an energy that was

210. Character of Philip

211. Alexander quells rebellion (338-326 B.C.)

entirely unlooked for, he marched into Greece, where Demosthenes was fomenting trouble, overawed his opponents, had himself elected to his father's

position of captain-general of the Hellenes, settled the affairs of the Hellenic League, and then disappeared into the north to show his strength to the wild tribes of the Balkans and Thrace, who had also risen in rebellion.

While he was thus engaged, the Greeks, encouraged by a rumor of his death, again raised the standard of revolt. Once more Alexander hurried south, and sitting down before Thebes,

the leader in the new rebellion, he did not relinquish the siege till the city had fallen and he had literally destroyed it from the face of the earth. The other cities hastened to make their peace with this young Hercules of war, and rebellion in Greece was over for some years to come.

Alexander was now ready to take up the plans which he had inherited from his father. Leaving Antipater, one of his father's lieutenants, as governor of Macedonia and *vade Persia* overlord of Greece, he set out for Asia.

The wretched condition of the Persian empire was no longer a secret to Greek or Macedonian. Since the days of Xenophon, Greek mercenaries and Greek travelers had been bringing back news of the weakness of the government. Stretching from the Indus to the Hellespont, from the Caspian Sea to the cataracts of the Nile, the empire had scarcely one bond of unity. All sorts of people, of every race, language, and religion, were included in its dominions;



ALEXANDER.

Glyptothek, Munich.

and if there had been no effective revolt in the two centuries in which the Persians had held sway, the reason was to be found in the lack of unity among the different races, rather than in the strength of the ruling dynasty. Against this tottering empire, the young conqueror now directed his arms.

In 334 B.C., Alexander crossed the Hellespont with an army of thirty-five or forty thousand men and turned north-east to meet a Persian army which was waiting for him 213. Battle
of the Granicus (334 B.C.) on the banks of the Granicus, a small river flowing into the Propontis. Though the odds in numbers and position were distinctly against him, he unhesitatingly offered battle. The result proved the wisdom of his course: the Persian force, a motley collection of native troops and Greek mercenaries, was no match for the superbly trained army of Macedonian veterans; the Asiatic army was completely routed, and Alexander was free to enter Asia Minor.

From the river Granicus, Alexander marched south along the coast of the Ægean. He had found that he could not depend, as he expected, upon the support of the Greeks of Asia Minor; consequently, he decided that their cities must be reduced before he dared to venture farther inland. 214. Conquest of Asia Minor (334-333 B.C.) For a year or more he made war upon these cities which should have been his allies: in the end, they were all subdued; and then Alexander turned his attention to the Persian king, who was hastening to oppose him.

In his eagerness to meet the oncoming host, Alexander allowed Darius, the Persian king, to outmaneuver him, and to get between him and his base of supplies. Nothing remained but to turn back and meet the enemy on his own ground. At Issus, in the extreme southeastern corner of Asia Minor, the forces of Europe and Asia again stood opposed to each other.

Darius knew the importance of the battle and advanced with an immense army. The odds, reckoned in men, were five or ten to one against the young Macedonian; but Darius, with



BATTLE OF ISSUS.

At northeast corner of the
Mediterranean.

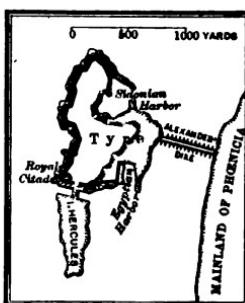
leaving the camp and the household of the king to the mercy of the conqueror.

Instead of following Darius in his flight, Alexander turned south into Syria. In Phœnicia, Tyre, still the greatest trading

215. Alexander in Phœnicia and Egypt (332 B.C.) city in the extreme eastern Mediterranean, stubbornly held out seven months against the siege of Alexander, but all in vain; by a series of brilliant engineering feats, the city was finally taken, and it was severely punished for its stiff-necked opposition.

From Phœnicia, Alexander marched south into Egypt. The Egyptians, entirely willing to change their masters, surrendered their land without a struggle, and Alexander remained there only long enough to settle the terms on which it should be held, to make a journey into the desert to visit the shrine of the god Ammon, and to found the city of Alexandria, destined in time to become the center of Hellenic culture in the east.

singular lack of foresight, had chosen the poorest possible position for his army; the field was so narrow that only a fraction of his troops could possibly be brought into action, and, as a result, the struggle which followed can scarcely be called a battle. With intrepid courage, the Macedonians advanced to the attack, and before the Persians could bring their strength to bear, the victory had already been won. Hordes of men perished on the field; the rest, led by Darius himself, fled in confusion,



TYRE.

Alexander had been away from his native land scarcely three years, yet he was now master of the western part of the Persian empire. His love of conquest was not yet satiated, and he determined to go on eastward. Back through Phœnicia, over the mountains of Syria, by the road which the Egyptian and Assyrian hosts had traveled hundreds of years before, he marched into the heart of the Persian empire.

216. Battle
of Arbela
(331 B.C.)

At Arbela, near the site of old Nineveh, he met Darius in battle for the last time. Again the Great King was determined to win; since the battle of Issus, he had gathered an army such as his ancestor Xerxes had led across the Hellespont. Nothing daunted, Alexander advanced, and the scenes of Granicus and Issus were repeated. "So decisive was his

Justin, xi. 14

victory," says the historian Justin, "that after it none ventured to rebel against him; and the Persians, after so

many years of supremacy, patiently submitted to the yoke of servitude."

Darius fled across the mountains into Media, and Alexander marched south to receive the homage of the ancient cities of the Tigris-Euphrates valley. Babylon and Susa opened their gates without resistance. From Susa, he journeyed to Persepolis, the ancient capital of

217. Alex-
ander mas-
ter of the
Persian
empire

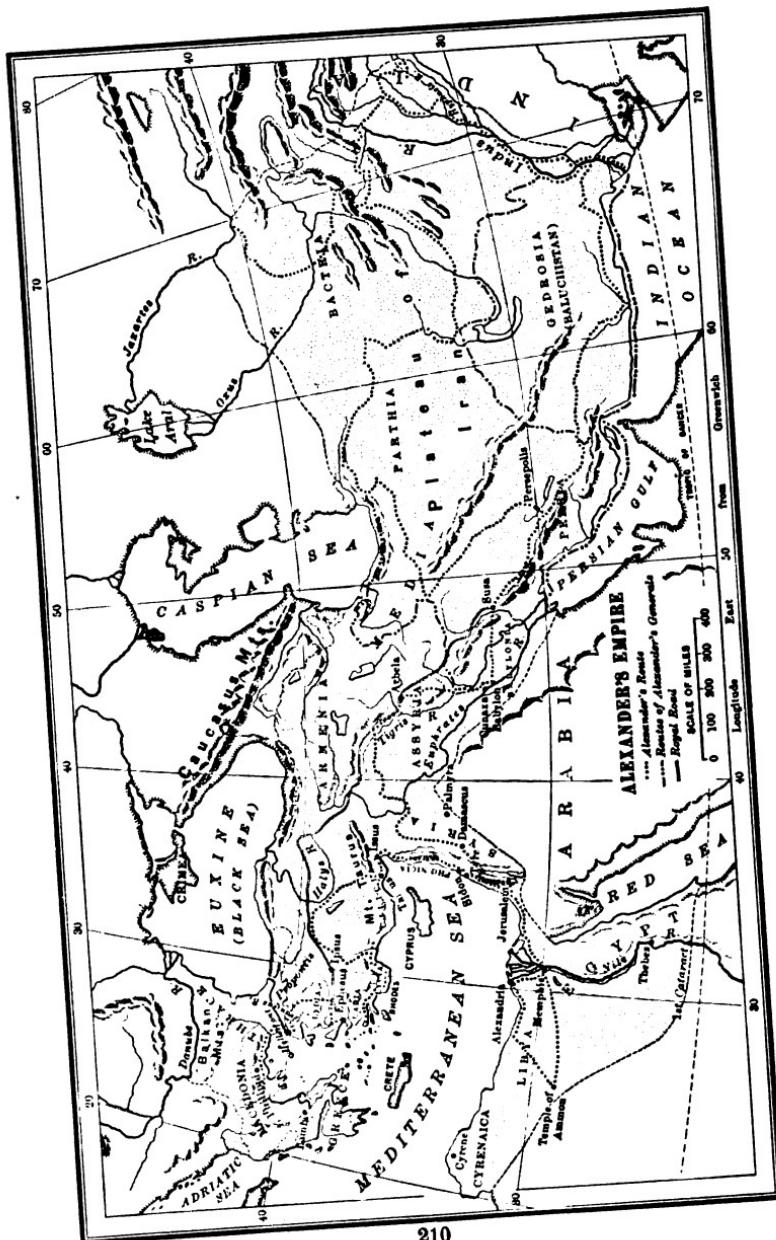
Persia, "the richest city under the sun." Here, in sheer wantonness, giddy with the lust of conquest, Alexander committed an act of vandalism which showed that success had turned his head. In a drunken fit, urged on by his worse than thoughtless companions, he set fire to the royal palace and destroyed one of the great monuments of Asiatic civilization.

*Diodorus,
xvii. 7*

For some time, Alexander indulged in a continuous round of pleasure; at length, he roused himself to pursue the fleeing



STAIRCASE AT PERSEPOLIS.



king. Since the battle of Arbela, Darius had been wandering, a homeless fugitive, in the north. Now Alexander hoped to capture him. But he came too late; before he could overtake the flying king, Darius had been murdered by one of his satraps, who hoped by the deed to gain the favor of the young conqueror. In a lonely pass in the mountains, Alexander found the deserted body. The sight filled him with intense grief, and in a generous moment he provided a splendid funeral procession and sent the remains back to Persepolis to be buried with all the honors due to a king.

218. Alexander's
journey to
India

Still the love of conquest urged the young Macedonian on. From Media, he proceeded east, ever east, into lands where probably no European had ever traveled before. One after another, the tribes which inhabited the plateau of Iran and the plains and rivers to the north were reduced, till, in 326 B.C., he reached the Indus River, the eastern limit of the Persian empire.

Still his ambition was not satisfied: he longed to reach the eastern seas, of which vague rumors had come to him in his journeyings. But the army was weary and at the Hyphasis it refused to go any farther, so that Alexander, much against his will, was finally forced to turn back.

Slowly, over the burning sands of Baluchistan and through the unknown waters of the Indian Ocean, the army returned to Susa. Finally, after ten years of almost continuous campaigning, Alexander settled down in Babylon in 324 B.C., where he established his temporary capital. Not that he contemplated a life of ease: to such a nature as his, that would have been impossible. His mind was full of schemes of further conquest, of expeditions into new and unexplored regions. In time he intended to lead a campaign into Arabia, possibly later to follow the shores of the Mediterranean to Italy and even to the Pillars of Hercules beyond.

219. Alexander's
turn and
death

None of these plans were realized. The few years which Alexander had lived were years of a most strenuous life.

Always on the move, always busied with new and wondrous schemes, the twelve years of his reign had meant more to him than fifty years to an ordinary man. Hence, when in 323 b.c. a fever attacked him, he succumbed to the disease without a struggle. We can imagine the sensation which his death produced in the world. Scarcely thirty-three years old, he had hardly begun his life work; such a contingency as his death was the last thought that had occurred to any man, least of all to himself. Everything from Macedonia on the west to India on the east was left at loose ends, and no one came forward great enough to gather up the threads.

It is hard to say anything of Alexander that will not appear

280. Alexander, the man extravagant. Had he lived a few centuries earlier, he would certainly have been called a demigod; as it is, he stands the greatest among the men of ancient times.

Personally, he was everything that was attractive; in character, also, he had those qualities which have won men in all ages: sincere and open in his dealings with men, a good friend and a forgiving enemy, he loved to do good where he could, and felt no exertion too great, no danger too threatening, to gain what he or a friend desired. His greatest fault was his violent and hasty temper; yet even that he learned to control far better than most men; and if at times his passion did get the better of his judgment, his contrition knew no bounds, and he did all in his power to atone for his rash deeds. Proud of his achievements, as he might well be, he allowed himself the weakness of claiming divine origin and of demanding homage from those about him. Finally, he made the mistake of imitating the manners and customs of the Persians among whom he came to live. Among his many good qualities, these few faults may surely be forgiven.

As a general, his superior tactics and strategy give him a place among the greatest geniuses of all ages. Able by his personal courage to inspire his soldiers to deeds of heroic

grandeur, he was so resourceful as to command the perfect confidence of his lieutenants; he won his battles, not by chance or by superior numbers, but by his ability to grasp the essential point in each engagement, and to provide for every conceivable chance which a battle might bring forth.



SO-CALLED SARCOPHAGUS OF ALEXANDER.

Constantinople; relief supposed to represent the battle of Issus. Alexander was not buried in this sarcophagus, however.

This was the man. Of his work in the world, even more can be said. Establishing himself firmly on his father's throne at an age when most men have scarcely escaped from the control of their tutors, he carried his victorious arms in less than ten years to the confines of the known world. What he conquered, he organized on a plan superior to that of the Persian kings. Instead of intrusting his administration to a number of satraps whose

221. Alexander's contributions to civilization

authority, under the king, was supreme, he divided the provincial authority between three men : a military commander, a civil governor, and a financial officer,— so that no one of the three should have an excess of power.

Into the oriental world, he brought a newer and better civilization. Where there had been only extreme despotism and a government that discouraged trade and civilization, he introduced a milder and a more beneficent rule, and encouraged progress in every way that he could. As he traveled, he established cities, more than seventy in all, so tradition says; and in time these cities became the centers not only for an extensive trade in which the goods of the east were exchanged for the goods of the west, but also for the exchange of ideas, which in the end caused the distinction between Greek and barbarian to disappear.

If his conquests did much for the east, they did much for Greece also. They opened to the Hellene a new world ; they widened his knowledge, and revivified his love of travel and adventure ; they caused him to learn enough of the geography of the world to make the study of astronomy and navigation exact sciences. In a word, to Alexander we owe it that Hellenic culture and civilization ceased to be a narrow civilization confined to a small people, inhabiting a small fragment of the earth's surface, and became a universal civilization, exerting its influence over the whole world.

The career of Alexander was short. Born in 356 B.C., in 336 B.C. he succeeded his father, who, since the battle of Chæronea, had been planning an expedition into Persia.

222. Summary The next two years he devoted to campaigns in Greece and Macedonia, disposing of the rebellious elements which had shown themselves on the death of his father. In 334 B.C. he took up his father's plan of invading Persia. Thenceforth his life was one long campaign. Three times — at the Granicus,

at Issus, and at Arbela—he defeated the Persian army; and almost daily, in those eleven years, he was encompassed by hosts vastly superior in numbers to his own. Yet he conquered in every battle, only to die, in the end, of an ordinary fever. Though he lived but thirty-three years, his accomplishments were so vast that they have affected the whole history of the world.

TOPICS

(1) Did the council of Corinth leave the Greek states independent? How did Alexander regard them at the beginning of his reign? (2) What causes which contributed to Alexander's victories also contributed to the victories of the Greeks over the Persians in earlier times? (3) When the Greek cities of Ionia refused to submit to Alexander, what former experience do you think warranted them in so doing? (4) Name other great conquerors fit to be compared with Alexander. Have they been successful in organizing the conquered territories? (5) Do you think Persia was benefited or otherwise by Alexander's conquests? What should you say about Greece? (6) Do you think that what Alexander did in Persia would have been accomplished without him by the Greeks? (7) Did Macedonian or Spartan supremacy do more for civilization? Give your reasons.

Suggestive topics

(8) Portraits of Alexander. (9) Battle of the Granicus. (10) Map of Alexander's routes. (11) Battle of Issus. (12) Character of Darius. (13) The city of Alexandria. (14) Battle of Arbela. (15) Present remains of Persian art and buildings. (16) The burning of Persepolis. (17) Alexander in India. (18) Stories of Bucephalus.

Search topics

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CHAPTER XVIII.

THE BEGINNINGS OF ROMAN HISTORY

THOUGH it is by no means true that the history of the Hellenic world ceases to be of interest with the death of Alexander, still from that time forth the Greeks gradually lose their place as the dominant race in the Mediterranean world, and therefore it is time that we learned to know something of the beginnings of the people who ultimately took their place. This race, the Romans, was one of the tribes which in times unknown had settled in the Italian peninsula.

Geographically, the peninsula of Italy differs greatly from its neighbor, Greece; its coasts are much less indented, and the sur-

**223. Physi-
cal geog-
raphy of
Italy** rounding seas are almost entirely devoid of small islands, so that most of its inhabitants, unlike those of Greece, never became a seafaring people. Then, too, while the mountains of Greece ran in all directions, and divided the land into a number of small, comparatively isolated states, the mountains of Italy are so regular that the peninsula falls naturally into only three well-defined parts,—northern, eastern, and western.

In the north, between the Alps and the Apennines, is an extensive valley watered by the river Po. The valley is rich and fertile, but for many centuries the Apennines served as a barrier between the people of the north and those of the south, and we shall therefore hear but little of the people of the valley till comparatively late in Roman history. In ancient times, the northern boundary of Italy so-called was the mountain range south of the Po valley.

Joining the maritime Alps, near the source of the Po, the Apennines sweep to the east toward the Adriatic Sea.

When some forty or fifty miles from that sea, they turn to the southeast and follow the coast almost all the way down to the southeastern end or "heel" of the peninsula. Then the range turns to the south, and, after running through the "toe of the boot," rises again in Sicily and terminates finally in the extreme western end of that island.

The political effect of the relation of the Apennines to the sea is evident: first, the mountains, as we have just seen, cut off the great plain of the Po, the longest river in Italy, from the lands to the south; and second, since they are nearer to the eastern coast than to the western, the most important rivers flow into the western sea, and therefore the most important political divisions of the land are on the west coast.

Between the Apennines and the western sea, there are four important river systems. In the north, the Arno runs through the plains of Etruria. In the center, the Tiber forms the boundary between Etruria and Latium, and its valley penetrates far up toward the northeast. In the south, the Liris and Vulturnus drain the fertile plains of Latium and Campania. In the valleys of these four rivers lay the seats of the earliest and most powerful civilizations of Italy.

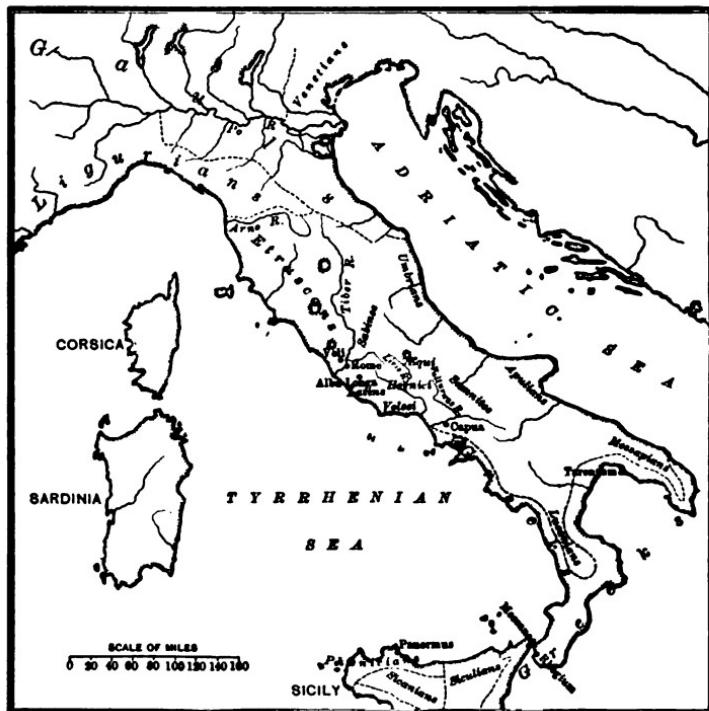
In soil and climate, Italy is a land of extremes; in the lowlands, fertile valleys give way to malarial swamps; along the mountain sides grow the fruits and grains of the temperate north; and upon the upper spurs of the Apennines all is bleak and forbidding.

Of the migrations of the races into Italy, we know little. Probably, like the Greeks, they came from the interior of Asia or north of the Black Sea, and entered Italy from the north. That there were successive invasions we know from the fact that all the people of Italy were not of one race.

Of the earliest races only a few faint traces are left. The first really important race to enter the peninsula was the

224. The
Italians

Italians, who ultimately dominated the land. Among the Italians, we are able to distinguish two branches: the Latins and the Sabellians. The Latins at one time occupied most of the plains from the Tiber south to the straits; from them is



EARLY TRIBES OF ITALY.

derived the name of Latium, the district just south of the river. The Sabellians, probably later comers, lived mainly in the mountains of the east. The main divisions of the race in historic times were the Umbrians in the northeast, the Sabines in the upper valley of the Tiber, and the Samnites in the south.

Close upon the Italians pressed the Etruscans. At one time or another, they seem to have overrun the entire peninsula as

far south as the Vulturnus; then, weakened by attacks from without, they were gradually forced back by the Italians till they were confined to the country north of the Tiber.

Here they lived and developed a civilization which had considerable influence upon their southern neighbors.

225. Etruscans, Gauls, and Greeks

They seem to have been a people versed both in agriculture and in seafaring. They built excellent roads and majestic buildings. Their fields

were watered by irrigation canals, their cities were drained by well-built sewers. Literature and art were also cultivated; but for modern times their history is a sealed book, because thus far no man has been able to decipher their written language.

The last invaders who poured into the land from the north were the Gauls, who settled in the valley of the Po and eventually gave the name of Gallia, or Gaul, to that region. For several centuries they lived here in isolation, but occasionally they swept south across the Apennines into the land of the Etruscans and Italians.

Besides these races which entered Italy from the north, we must not forget the Greek colonists who settled along the southern coasts.

Among all the people who migrated into the land, it is the Latin branch of the Italian race which deserves our immediate attention. These Latins, according to tradition, were divided



GATE OF PERUGIA.

The lower portions are Etruscan work.

into thirty cantons or townships, each of which had its center in a hill fortress where the people gathered for counsel and defense.

226. Latin confederation Among them there was a confederation, half religious, half political, with Alba Longa at its head.

One of the thirty towns was Rome. Situated on the Tiber about fifteen miles from its mouth, safe from the incursions of the pirates who infested the sea for ages, the hills of the city offered an easily defensible fortress against all enemies, and at the same time enabled the Romans to demand tribute on all goods passing down the river. In this way the town grew and prospered, and in the course of time became the first among the cities of the Latin confederation.

Tacitus, Annals, i. 1 “In the beginning,” says the historian Tacitus, “kings ruled over Rome.” This is all that we can say with certainty about the early history of the city; all the rest is a mass of legend and myth. Still the legends deserve a passing notice because there is in them a slight thread of truth which enables us to understand the early history of the city.

The city of Rome, so the legend tells us, was founded by Romulus, a grandson of the king of Alba Longa. For many years Romulus ruled over the city, extending his dominions by war and caring for his people as a wise king. Peace was finally established with his chief enemies, the Sabines, and part of the tribe was induced to come to Rome and take up its place among the citizens. After a rule of forty years, Romulus was carried off to heaven, and thenceforth he was worshiped as a god.

Under its second king, Numa Pompilius, a Sabine, Rome enjoyed a period of uninterrupted peace. All his days he devoted to establishing religious festivals and civil ordinances for

Cicero, Republic, ii. 14 the state. “Then, when he had reigned thirty-nine years in the greatest peace and concord, . . . he departed this life, having established two most important principles of

government,— religion and clemency.” The next king was Tullus Hostilius; in his day war raged once more. Alba Longa was conquered, and the people forced to take up their residence in Rome. Other cities of the Latin confederacy, too, were forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome. The reign of the fourth king, Ancus Marcius, like that of Numa, was marked by peace and prosperity. In his day, the power of the city was extended to the coast, where the town of Ostia was founded.

With the death of Ancus a new era begins. Instead of choosing a Latin or Sabine as king, the Romans selected an Etruscan, Lucius Tarquinius. In his day, the state prospered greatly. All the lands for many leagues around were brought under the Roman rule, much of the splendor of Etruscan civilization was introduced into Rome, and many important public improvements were undertaken. Nevertheless, there were those in Rome who were discontented, and the king was murdered in his palace. Then his son-in-law, Servius Tullius, ascended the throne. He, too, met his death by the hand of an assassin, and Lucius Tarquinius the Proud followed as king. Though he devoted his reign to glorifying the city, though he extended its boundaries and adorned it with many public works, his rule soon became unbearable to the people, because of his harsh and overbearing manner. In the end, he was deposed and forbidden ever again to enter the city. After him, no king ever ruled in Rome.

Out of this mass of legends, of which we have here given only the merest outline, a few facts as to the early history of Rome can be gathered. First, the city of Rome was a member of the Latin confederacy, founded possibly by colonists from Alba Longa. In course of time, the Sabines swarmed into Latium, devastating and destroying as they came. The Romans, among others, suffered from these depredations; but succeeded in the end in making an alliance with the invaders, whom they ultimately absorbed into their politi-

228. His-
tory con-
tained in
the legends

cal organization. In the years following, the city of Rome gradually raised itself to a position of primary importance among the cities of the confederation. These are the times of the first four kings.

With the death of Ancus, a new element is introduced into the legend. To save their pride, the Romans of later times



SO-CALLED WALL OF ROMULUS.

Part of the wall surrounding Roma Quadrata — the first settlement on the Palatine Hill.

declared that a line of Etruscan kings had been elected to the throne; as a matter of fact, it is probable that Rome, with many of the other cantons of Latium, was conquered by its northern neighbors. These conquerors, the Tarquin kings, probably made Rome their capital, and governed the rest of Latium from within its walls. Though the city prospered under their administration, the Romans were not content, for often the kings were harsh and overbearing. At last there came a time when the people were able to throw off the yoke;

then the old form of government was abandoned, and a republic was established in its place.

The earliest Romans were almost exclusively a race of shepherds. A few of the people were farmers, a few others were simple artisans, a few lived too far from the city walls to return every night; but on the whole, Rome was a shepherd community, whose members pastured their flocks in the lowlands about the city, returning to the hills at night to avoid the fevers and the wild beasts of the marshes along the banks of the river.

The city proper consisted of a group of seven hills, among which the Palatine, the Aventine, and the Capitoline were the most important. The first was the aristocratic quarter of the city; the second was the home of the plebeians; the third, which corresponded roughly to the Acropolis



HILLS OF ROME; WALL OF SERVIUS TULLIUS.

at Athens, was at one and the same time the seat of the government, the sacred precinct of the city, and the citadel.

Most of the people lived in rude thatched huts consisting of a single room, a few of the better classes had somewhat more elaborately constructed houses; but nowhere was there any luxury to be found. Tools and weapons were made of stone or bronze. Art and literature there were none. Conditions

229. Roman society in early regal period

may have improved slightly after the coming of the Tarquins, but even then the Romans were centuries behind the Greeks.

The religion of these early Romans was almost entirely pastoral in its nature. The gods, for the most part, were

230. Roman
religion



VESTAL VIRGIN.

deifications of the powers of nature: the wind, the sun, the warmth of summer, the cold of winter. But the Roman worshiped also a number of gods who were to him the presiding geniuses of his race: Jupiter, the ruler of gods and men, who caused the people to prosper or suffer at his will; Mars, who brought victory or defeat in war; and Vesta, the patroness of all domestic virtues. Each of these gods had his special college of priests: thus there were

the Flamens of Jupiter, the

Salii of Mars, and the Virgins of Vesta who kept alive the fire which burned on the sacred hearth erected in her honor. Besides the national gods, each Roman family had its own especial household gods called the Lares and Penates, who represented the genius and honor of the family, and to whom the Roman owed allegiance almost before the gods of the state. In addition to the colleges of priests whose duties were connected with the worship of Jupiter, Mars, Vesta, and the other deities, there existed a special body of priests, the Augurs, whose duty it was to consult the gods through such signs as the flight of birds and the entrails of sacrificed animals in order that the state might not sin against their will.

Among the free inhabitants of Rome, in this early period, three classes of society are to be distinguished : the patricians, the plebeians, and the clients. The patricians or nobles, ^{231. Classes} who alone had full rights of citizenship, and who claimed ^{of society} to be descended from the original founders of the city, all belonged, in the first place, to one of the three original tribes. Even in these early times, however, the tribes had ceased to have any real significance ; the patrician was bound, not by his relations to the tribe, but by his relations to his clan or gens. Of these gentes, according to tradition, there were three hundred. Each gens had its own organization, and especially its own religious practices. Its members were bound together by the tradition of a common ancestor.

Within the gens were gathered the families,—a term by which the Roman meant something very different from what we now mean : the “family” included every man and every unmarried woman descended from a living father. Over this family, the oldest living male ancestor, the *pater familias*, ruled with untrammeled authority ; within its limits, he was king, judge, and high priest ; he could punish its members, even sell them into slavery or condemn them to death at his will. One thing only restrained him,—the custom of the community, which forbade him to exercise his authority unless he had sufficient cause. This authority, however, extended only to affairs of the family ; politically, his sons and grandsons became free the moment they became of age. Thenceforward, they were as much citizens as he, and as magistrates might even exercise authority over him.

Commonly each family had attached to it a body of dependents called clients, usually recruited from among foreigners who had come to Rome to live, and from among the freed slaves. They attached themselves to the patricians because they could hold no property in their own names ; in return for the protection which the *pater familias* granted them, they

owed him service and fealty. Thus, though they were free in person, their property and rights were bound up in those of their patron.

The plebeians or commoners had limited civil rights in the community; they could buy and sell and hold property in their own names, but they were excluded from all active participation in the government. Most of them were small farmers or shepherds who had migrated into Roman territory for protection, or whose homesteads had come to be included within the limits of the city-state in its expansion.

A so-called king ruled over the Roman state in earliest times, but in Rome there never existed a royal family; the

232. The king was merely a magistrate elected for life from among the patricians. Nevertheless, he enjoyed an authority far beyond that of most sovereigns of our day: he was commander in chief of the army, supreme judge of the people, from whom there was no appeal, and high priest of the Roman state. As the power of the pater familias was absolute and unrestricted within the family, so the power of the king was absolute and unrestricted in the state. The only check upon his authority was custom, against which he might not offend with impunity.

In his position as chief magistrate, the king was assisted by a council of elders, called the Senate. Though the Senate had no powers beyond those which the king conceded to it, custom made it necessary for him to get its sanction for all laws. Furthermore, its authority was greatly augmented the moment the king died, for the Senate then became the repository of the royal authority and held it as the representative of the people till a new king was chosen.

Finally, the government included an assembly of the people. In this assembly, and for administrative purposes, all the people — patricians, plebeians, and clients alike — were organized into thirty *curiæ*. When these *curiæ* met in

assembly, only the patricians could take an active part in the deliberations ; the plebeians and clients could influence legislation only by informal evidences of their desires, such as shouting or brandishing their arms. At best, the *Comitia Curiata*, as the assembly was called, had but little authority ; it was summoned by the king only when he wanted the sanction of the people for some action which he was about to take ; it met when a new king had been chosen, to ratify his election and to confer upon him the *imperium*, the power of ruling over the state. Finally, it met at stated intervals for semireligious purposes : to sanction wills, to approve of adoptions, and to pardon offenders against the authority of the gods.

Under the constitution just described, in the earliest days of the city, it is the patricians alone who took an active part in the government : even the plebeians were nothing more than passive citizens. With the accession of the Etruscan kings, all this was changed. The Tarquins were foreigners who cared nothing for the social distinctions which existed in early Rome ; their sole desire was to increase the military force of the state by including as many of the inhabitants as possible in the levy. The new constitution which they created was probably of gradual growth, but the later Romans ascribed it to the wisdom of one man, the king Servius Tullius, much as the Spartans ascribed their constitution to the wisdom of Lycurgus.

The constitution of Servius abolished the old distinctions between patrician and plebeian, and gave active citizenship to all who had above a minimum of property ; in other words, the right to participate in the government and the duty of serving in the army ceased to depend upon birth, and henceforth depended upon wealth. Further, the city was divided into four tribes, which, like the tribes of Clisthenes in Athens, had absolutely nothing to do with the relationship of the members, but were merely geographical divisions of the city like our modern wards, for purposes of levying troops and

233. The
Servian re-
forms

assigning financial obligations. Besides the four urban tribes, sixteen rural tribes were created, which included those Romans who, as the city-state grew in territory, did not regularly reside within the walls. Next, all the citizens thus associated in tribes were divided into five classes according to their wealth. Each of the classes was obliged to furnish the army with a certain number of fully equipped men: the first class, for instance, was to furnish forty centuries, as the companies were called, of active troops and forty centuries of reserve; the second, ten centuries each of active and reserve, and so on with all the others. In all, including the eighteen centuries of cavalry which were levied from among the richest classes upon another system, there were one hundred and ninety-three centuries. Originally, a century may have included only a hundred men, as the name implies; but the term soon lost its numerical significance, and came to signify merely a military unit.

Though the purpose of these reforms was purely military, they improved the position of the plebeians, who now took

234. The Comitia Centuriata their place beside the patricians as active citizens, even though they still lacked many of the privileges of the higher order. At stated intervals, the military levy met in an assembly, known as the *Comitia Centuriata*, for review. But what more natural than that in course of time the king should submit to the army thus gathered, questions of peace and war? From discussions of such questions, the assembly gradually passed to other subjects, and, in course of time, the *Comitia Centuriata* came to be a deliberative body; in it both patricians and plebeians took an active part, while in the *Comitia Curiata* only the patricians could vote.

In most ancient times, there settled on the banks of the Tiber three Italian tribes, which ultimately united and called

235. Summary themselves Romans. Besides these tribes, which controlled the affairs of the community, the city contained

a body of people who were recognized as citizens, but were given no active share in the government. In these early times, the city was ruled by kings, assisted by a council called the Senate, and by an assembly called the Comitia Curiata. Then came the Etruscan conquerors, who modified the constitution so as to include among the active citizens those plebeians who were able to furnish themselves with arms. Out of the military levy which was called in review at stated intervals, grew a new assembly, the Comitia Centuriata. Besides modifying the constitution, the Tarquins greatly improved the condition of the city, and added largely to its territory. How long they ruled, no one can say; in the end they were expelled from the city, and a republican government was established.

TOPICS

(1) Had the Adriatic been filled with small islands and had the Apennines stood near the west coast of Italy, would the history of Italy have been other than it is? (2) How were the Italians related to the Greeks? (3) What advantages in location did Rome have over Alba Longa? (4) Compare the early institutions of Rome with those of the Spartans. (5) Compare the founding of Rome with the founding of Athens and Thebes. With what men in those cities may Romulus be compared? (6) In what way did the government of the Roman family differ from ours? (7) On which class of people would the power of the king bear most directly? (8) Compare the reforms of Servius Tullius with those of Solon and of Clisthenes. Why were military institutions given such a prominent place in all early reforms at Rome and elsewhere?

Suggestive topics

(9) What was the difference in composition, powers, and methods of voting between the Comitia Curiata and the Comitia Centuriata? (10) Legend of the Horatii and the Curiatii. (11) Early Roman towns which are still inhabited. (12) Etruscan art and buildings. (13) Early stories of the Gauls. (14) The Servian wall of Rome. (15) Present remains of masonry erected before the time of the republic.

Search topics

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END OF THE CLOACA MAXIMA.

A sewer built by the Tarquins, and still in use.

CHAPTER XIX.

EARLY ROMAN WARS AND CONQUESTS

ROME, under the Tarquins, was the capital of a miniature empire which extended from the Tiber to the hills of southern and southeastern Latium. When the kings were expelled (509 b.c.), Rome was left without the protection of her Etruscan rulers; her old enemies rose in full fury against her; and for a century after the establishment of the republic, the city was forced to maintain an unending struggle for mere existence. On the north, the Etruscans, led by the citizens of Veii, were constantly threatening; on the east and southeast, beyond the plains of Latium, the *Æqui* and Volsci were an equally constant danger: and it seems as though Rome would certainly have been overwhelmed had not Spurius Cassius, a patrician leader, succeeded in 493 b.c. in renewing the Latin Confederacy, which had evidently fallen into decay during the rule of the Tarquins, and in strengthening the Roman position still further by drawing into an alliance the Hernici, who inhabited the lands between the *Æqui* and the Volsci.

236. Roman
enemies
and allies

The city was saved from many dangers by these two alliances. The Latin towns served as a buffer against which most of the incursions from the south and east spent themselves; and the Hernici lay as a wedge between the *Æqui* and Volsci, and prevented them from uniting against the common enemy. Thus protected, Rome was left free, for the most part, to defend herself against the Etruscans to the north. As it was, we read of hostile armies which time and again penetrated into the Latin territory and even to the very walls of Rome. Often only by the most heroic efforts was the city saved from destruction.

After the middle of the fifth century B.C., however, the tide seems to have gradually turned in favor of the Romans, who were noted even in these early times for that spirit of **237. Weak-
ening of the
foes** dogged resistance which ever afterward made them famous among the nations of antiquity. Then, too, in the north, the Etruscans were held in check by the necessity of defending themselves against the Gauls, who were advancing southward, and against the Greeks and Carthaginians, who were attacking the cities of the coast; and in the east and south, the Volsci and *Æqui*, in a like manner, were forced to defend themselves against the Sabellian tribes who were slowly forcing their way down from the Apennines into the foothills and plains of the Liris and Vulturnus.

Now that Rome was freed from the constant inroads of her enemies, she was able very slowly to establish her authority firmly in the plains; colonies, that is, military outposts, were planted in various parts of Latium and beyond; the army was reorganized; and in general the city seemed to be concentrating her forces for the coming struggle with her most important enemy, Veii.

In 406 B.C., the struggle opened; for ten years, according to tradition, the Roman army lay before the walls of the hostile **238. Siege
and capture
of Veii
(406-396
B.C.)** city, while the men of Veii endeavored by alliances with their Etruscan kinsmen and by sallies from the city gates to raise the siege. In the end Rome was successful: Veii fell, and Rome was mistress of all the land on both sides of the Tiber from the foothills of the Apennines to the river's mouth. At the end of a century of republican government, Rome seemed to be out of danger.

By way of comparison, it is interesting to note that this is the century of the greatest glory in Greek history, for in it the Greeks successfully repulsed the attack of the Persians, and in it the Athenians gained and lost their maritime empire.

During the ten years of the siege of Veii, the character of

the Roman army underwent a complete change. Heretofore, the citizens had been accustomed to campaigns which lasted only during one summer; now the necessities of the siege demanded that the army should be constantly in the field: hence there was gradually evolved a new system of encampment, a new system of attack and defense, a new

239. *Roman military system*



CITADEL OF VEII. (Restoration.)

system of siege tactics, and, above all, a new system of supporting the army by regular pay to the soldiers.

Henceforth the Roman army was divided into what are known as legions. In each legion there were both light-armed and heavy-armed infantry. The light-armed troops, of whom there were twelve hundred in each legion, were used as skirmishers and as auxiliaries in battle, and were organized as occasion demanded. The heavy-armed troops—three thousand

in all — were organized into companies called maniples, averaging one hundred men. In battle they were ranged in three lines, in open order. The first two lines began the attack by hurling their javelins, and then closed in so that they might use the famous Roman short sword, the *pilum*. If the enemy did not give way, the soldiers of the front ranks retired through the ranks of those behind them, while those behind moved forward to the attack. Thus the legion saved itself from undue fatigue, and always presented an unbroken front rank to the enemy.

Besides the foot soldiers, each legion was supported by three hundred cavalrymen, who were used for flank movements, for skirmishing, and for pursuing a flying enemy.

All in all, the Roman legion was the most mobile, the most efficient military organization which the ancient world produced. To incite the individual soldier to deeds of valor, the Romans evolved a system of military honors and rewards to which the lowliest soldier in the ranks might aspire. For the successful general was reserved the Triumph, a semireligious celebration in which the commander and his troops, with their spoils of war, marched through the city and to the capitol, where thanks were rendered to the gods.

Meanwhile, the Gauls had advanced far into the plains of Etruria. "These people," says Polybius, "lived in open

240. The
Gallic in-
vasion
(391-390
B.C.)
Polybius,
ii. 17

villages and without any permanent dwellings. As they made their beds of straw or leaves, and fed on meat, and followed no pursuits but those of war and agriculture, they lived simple lives without being acquainted with any science or art whatever. Each man's property, moreover, consisted in cattle and gold, as they were the only things which could be easily carried with them when they wandered from place to place, and changed their dwellings as their fancy directed."

In 391 B.C., while the Gauls were besieging Clusium in Etruria, some Roman ambassadors, forgetting that they were

present at the siege as peace envoys, actually took part with the men of Clusium in a battle. Brennus, the Gallic leader, was enraged at the interference, and forthwith abandoned the siege and turned his hosts against Rome.

In feverish haste, the Romans prepared for the coming attack. When the armies met the next year on the river Allia, about eleven miles from Rome, the Romans were overwhelmed, and fled from the field completely demoralized. "Pur-

Polybius,
ii. 18



DYING GAUL. (Capitoline Museum, Rome.)

the Gauls occupied the city of Rome, with the exception of the capitol. But a circumstance intervened which called them home; . . . accordingly, they made terms with the Romans, handed back the city, and returned to their own land." In the days that they had occupied the city, they had completely destroyed most of the houses and the public buildings; consequently many of the citizens advocated the removal of the entire population to Veii, which still stood comparatively un-

damaged only a few miles up the river. Marcus Furius Camillus, a patrician, the hero of the siege of Veii, who had been most active in harassing the retreating Gauls, objected so strenuously that his counsel prevailed. Every one within the city set to work rebuilding the city, much as the Athenians had done a hundred years earlier, and within a year the city recovered internally from its disaster.

The Gallic invasion checked for the moment the steady advance of Rome in Latium and Etruria. Encouraged by the

241. War with Etruscans, *Æqui*, and Volsci disaster which had overtaken their former foe, the Etruscans, *Æqui*, and Volsci with one accord rose in opposition to the Romans. Under the vigorous leadership of Camillus and his successors, however, all these enemies were again subdued. Roman citizens were colonized in the Etruscan territory to such an extent that, before the middle of the century, a number of new tribes were added to the city, and the northern boundary of the Roman state was secured by military posts called Latin colonies, established at Sutrium and Nepete. Against the *Æqui* and Volsci, a similar policy was adopted; colonies were established along the border, and in the territory of the Volsci two new tribes were added to the city, making a total of twenty-seven. Camillus was the leading genius in all these movements; as Livy

Livy, vii. 1 says, "He was truly a man among thousands; first in war and peace, . . . he was considered, next to Romulus, to be worthy of the title of founder of the city of Rome."

In the years immediately following the Gallic invasion, some of the Latin allies also rose in opposition to the power **242. Revolt of Latin allies (383 B.C.)** of Rome. For about a century, they had suffered from constant raids, while the city of Rome was for the most part saved unharmed. Furthermore, like the members of the Delian Confederacy, they had gradually sunk from the position of equal allies to the position of dependents, and consequently they chafed under the burdens of the alliance.

In 383 B.C., the confederation dissolved, and a war began which for some twenty-five years went on in a desultory way. In the end, the Romans won by dividing the enemy, extending privileges to one and punishing another. Then the Latin confederacy was reorganized, but not as of old: henceforth Rome was to be distinctly recognized as the ruling city in Latium.

Peace now reigned in Latium for a few years; not that the allies were content, but the power to revolt was lacking.

Then the Samnites came as a new element in the struggle. Some of those hill tribes had gradually made their way down from the Apennines and established themselves about the city of Capua in Campania.

243. So-called first Samnite war (343-340 B.C.)

By the middle of the fourth century, the Samnites of the plain had become thoroughly identified with the older inhabitants of Campania, and had lost most of their early warlike characteristics. In 343 B.C., if we may trust the tradition, they were attacked by their brethren of the mountains, and appealed to Rome for aid. Nothing loath, the Romans sent their armies into Campania, and by the year 340 B.C. they had driven the Samnites of the hills back out of Campania, and had made themselves masters of Capua and the surrounding country.

About 340 B.C., eighteen years after the reestablishment of the Latin Confederacy (and while Philip was creating a united Greece), the allies made a last effort to throw off the yoke of Rome. The newly acquired Campanian cities threw in their fortunes with them; but the war which resulted was short and sharp; in two pitched battles, the Romans managed to rout the allies completely, and before two years had passed the Latin war was over.

244. End of Latin Confederacy (338 B.C.)

The Romans, victors in the struggle, determined that no such risings should occur again, and proceeded to reorganize the conquered territory on a new basis. Each town was dealt with separately. To some, rights of full Roman citizenship were extended, and these were merged into the body of the

Roman community. The majority, however, were organized under a new form of dependence — they were to cease to exist as independent communities, and to be known henceforth as Latin allies; the administration of home affairs, it is true, was still to remain with a body of elected magistrates, but the people were under obligation to serve in the Roman army, and the towns were strictly forbidden to hold any political communication with each other except through their mistress, Rome. All semblance of a confederation was gone; either the cities were a part of the *Ager Romanus*, the territory included within the city-state, or they were direct dependencies, with only such political rights as Rome might grant them.

To maintain herself secure in these new relations, Rome carried out stringently the policy which she had evolved in the century preceding the fall of the confederacy: all dependent territory was kept in the closest relation to the dominant state; throughout the Roman dominions, colonies were established whose citizens were under obligation to protect the acquired land; and finally, the home government kept the closest possible watch in order that it might crush the first signs of an incipient revolt.

The century and a half after the establishment of the republic falls naturally into three periods of almost equal length.

245. Summary. In the first, extending from 509 to 450 B.C., Rome was acting distinctly on the defensive; hostile armies of Etruscans, Volsci, and *Aequi* were constantly penetrating into her territory, and at times even to her walls. Only by the enormous power of resistance native to the race, and by the aid of her allies, was Rome able to maintain her existence. In the second period, 450 to 390 B.C., by the aid of her allies, Rome succeeded in pushing her enemies back, till she was practically mistress of all the land from southern Etruria to the hills of southern Latium. The crowning feature of this

period was the conquest of Veii, Rome's most formidable Etruscan rival. The third period, 390 to 338 B.C., opens with the crushing defeat at the river Allia and the destruction of the city by the Gauls. From this disaster, the city quickly recovered with a vigor which marks her as the future conqueror of the world. The climax was reached when, in an attempt to assert their independence, the Latin allies were completely defeated; and all the territory from southern Etruria to western Campania was organized either as a part of the Ager Romanus, or as direct dependencies of the Roman state.

TOPICS

- (1) With what other earlier conflicts between cities would you compare these in Italy? (2) What was the real importance of the siege of Veii? (3) Trace the changes made in the army from the earliest times through the siege of Veii. (4) To which of the Italian races did the Samnites belong? (5) What portion of the territory over which Rome had control could be called republican? (6) What difference was there between colonies established by Rome and those established by the Greeks?
- (7) Traditional story of Coriolanus. (8) Traditional story of Cincinnatus. (9) Meetings of the Latin confederacy. (10) Battle of the Allia. (11) Legends of the Gauls in Rome.

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CHAPTER XX.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE PLEBEIANS FOR EQUAL RIGHTS (509-287 B.C.)

THE change from monarchy to republic was accomplished in Rome with but few changes in the constitution. Instead of **246. New republican constitution** the king, the Romans now elected annually two magistrates called Consuls, to whom were intrusted almost all the powers which the kings had formerly wielded. They were at the same time commanders in chief of the army and civil magistrates. The religious functions of the king, however, were conferred upon a special officer called the *Rex Sacrorum*. The two consuls were absolutely equal in authority; either might act with full power, either might annul the acts of the other. Hence, to prevent deadlocks, and to give the government unity in times of extreme danger, either consul might nominate a single chief magistrate, called a Dictator, who at once assumed sole control of the state, and remained in office not longer than six months. Besides the consuls, the new constitution provided for several other officials, chief among whom were the questors, who had charge of the state treasury.

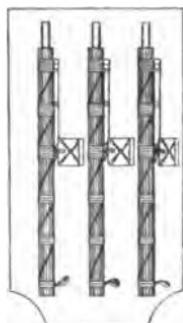
Practically no change was made in the organization of the Senate. Possibly a few plebeians were admitted to its sittings, but in these early years they can have had no real influence. The revolution which drove the Tarquins out was a patrician revolution; by it the plebeians gained nothing of importance.

In the powers of the two assemblies, however, a distinct change is visible. After the reforms of Servius Tullius, the Comitia Curiata gradually lost all its legislative powers, and

soon after the establishment of the republic it ceased to meet at all except for the single purpose of conferring the imperium upon the magistrates; the Comitia Centuriata, on the other hand, steadily rose in importance, till it assumed all the legislative functions of the government. Furthermore, the Comitia Centuriata was summoned for the election of consuls and all other officers; and later met to hear the trials of appeals from the decisions of the magistrates, which were authorized by the *lex Valeria*, a law passed very early in the history of the republic. This law, as may easily be seen, curbed the arbitrary authority of the consuls, and was therefore looked upon by the Romans as their Magna Charta.

In spite of the growing influence of the Comitia Centuriata, in which both plebeians and patricians had a place, the government of the early republic was almost exclusively in the hands of the patricians. They alone were eligible to office, they alone were regularly eligible to the Senate, and by a majority of votes which they controlled in the Comitia Centuriata they could direct the entire course of legislation. If, by any chance, the voting seemed to be going against them, the consul, who was *ex officio* president, could at once interfere and stop all action by declaring that what was going on was contrary to the will of the gods: upon such declaration, the assembly simply had to adjourn. The internal history of the first two hundred years of the republic, therefore, is the history of the struggle of the plebeians to establish themselves on an equality with their patrician fellow-citizens.

247. The patrician oligarchy



FASCES.

The consul's insignia.

The constant wars of the early years of the republic, of which we have read in the previous chapter, bore most heavily upon the plebeians. Though there were some among the class

who were well-to-do and even wealthy, the vast majority were small landholders with farms in the lowlands about Rome just large enough to support a single family.

248. First secession of the plebeians (494 B.C.) These small farmers were equally liable to military service with the richer patricians; and, while they were away from home fighting the battles of the republic, their lands

suffered from want of cultivation, and from the raids of the enemy. To add to the sufferings of the plebeians, the lands which their swords helped to conquer, instead of being distributed among plebeians and patricians alike, were bestowed by the magistrates upon the patricians exclusively. The result was inevitable; with their farms devastated, and no means left to them for acquiring new lands, the plebeians were forced to go heavily into debt, and debt in Rome in the beginning of the fifth century B.C., just as in Athens a century before, meant ultimate slavery. "Hence," says the historian

Livy, ii. 23 Livy, "the plebeians loudly complained that whilst they were fighting abroad for liberty and dominion, they were captured and oppressed at home by their fellow-citizens; that the liberty of the people was more secure in war than in peace; among their enemies, than among their fellow-citizens."

At last, when the plebeians found that the patricians were likely to continue deaf to their appeals for the redress of these grievances, they took matters into their own hands; and in 494 B.C., on the eve of a war with the Volsci, seceded in a body to a hill several miles up the river, since known as the Sacred Mount. Here they remained, threatening to establish a new and independent city, till the patricians, knowing that they could not maintain themselves alone against the enemies of Rome, came to an agreement with them.

By this agreement the worst of the abuses were to be remedied. In future, the plebeians were to have their own magistrates, called Tribunes, who were to protect them against the exactions of the patrician consuls by inter-

fering in lawsuits brought against the plebeians, and by exempting the plebeians from the military levy. These magistrates were to be protected by the Sacred Law, which made any indignity offered to their persons a crime against the gods. At first, the tribunes were two in number; within fifty years their number had been increased to ten. At first, their powers were but slight; in course of time, they became the most powerful magistrates in the city.

For the moment, it seemed as though the plebeians had won their fight. The root of the evil, however, still existed. There was as yet no thought of giving them any real political rights; and, with the government entirely in the hands of the patricians, no remedy for the unjust distribution of the conquered lands was to be expected. One man, Spurius Cassius, of whom we have heard in the previous chapter, did propose that the plebeians should be admitted to a share in the public lands, but he paid the penalty for his suggestion with his life: the patricians accused him of aiming at making himself king, and he was at once condemned to death. In spite of this setback, the plebeians kept on steadily in their fight for equal rights.

For the election of tribunes, for the discussion of plebeian affairs, some sort of an assembly was necessary. What the character of this organization was for the first ten or twenty years after the establishment of the tribunate, we cannot tell with certainty; but in 471 b.c. the assembly was carefully organized by a law which decreed that thenceforth only plebeians who were landholders and members of the Servian tribes should have the right to take part in its deliberations. This new assembly, known as the *Comitia Tributa Plebis*, is thus the third of the great Roman assemblies.

The tribunate and the *Comitia Tributa Plebis* were two powerful weapons with which the plebeians could fight for further concessions. Equal political rights with the patricians were

as yet not to be thought of, but the plebeians were determined to curb the unrestricted power of the consuls. Just as in

251. Teren- Athens before the time of Draco (621 B.C.), the law in
tilian roga- Rome was exclusively the heritage of the nobles; obvi-
tion (462
B.C.)ously, the patrician consuls could interpret the law in favor of their own order, so long as the plebeians knew nothing of its provisions; and therefore the plebeians determined to make a fight for the codification of the law.

In 462 B.C., Gaius Terentilius Harsa was elected tribune. "Now in order that the unrestrained power of the patricians

Livy, iii. 9 might not continue forever, he proposed a law that five men should be appointed to draw up the law concerning the consular power." Against this proposal, known as the Terentilian rogation, the patricians of Rome, like the Athenian nobles in the time of Draco, fought with all their strength; for if the law were codified, they would lose one of their most powerful weapons.

For almost ten years the battle raged fiercely; but in the end the plebeians won the fight. In 454 B.C., so the tradition

252. Codifi- runs, envoys were sent to Athens to study the laws of
cation of Solon so that the Romans might use them as models in
the law their forthcoming code. That this tradition is trust-
(451-449
B.C.) worthy is doubtful; but the fact remains that in 451

B.C. a body of ten men, the *Decemviri*, was chosen, whose primary duty was to codify the customary law of the city. In order that they might be absolutely untrammeled in their work, all civil magistracies, including the consulship and the tribunate, were suspended for the year. During the twelve months, a large part of the work was accomplished; ten tables, or more properly tablets, were submitted to the Comitia Centuriata for approval, and everything pointed to a speedy and peaceful return to the former system of government. However, a part of the law still remained to be codified, and a new set of decemviri, with Appius Claudius at their

head, was elected for the following year. Under their supervision, two more tables were drawn up and submitted to the assembly, and the task of the decemviri was complete.

At this point, the decemviri should have resigned and allowed the regular constitution, to become operative once more; but for some reason, which is not entirely clear, Appius Claudius determined to hold fast to his power, and thus forced upon the state a revolution similar to the first secession of the plebeians. The result of this revolution was that the old form of government was renewed, and by a law passed in 449 B.C. the guaranties of plebeian liberty were renewed and extended. Henceforth, the tribunes were to have the right to sit in the porch of the Senate so that they might hear the deliberations of that body and interpose their veto whenever the course of legislation did not suit their fancy; and furthermore, the decrees of the Comitia Tributa Plebis were to have equal weight with those of the Comitia Centuriata.

The work which the decemviri accomplished was of the greatest importance; for the code embodied, speaking broadly, the basic principles of all future Roman law, civil and criminal. The Twelve Tables laid down the primitive principle of self-help and retaliation. They declared, for instance, that "if one man break the limb of another and refuse to compensate him for the injury, he shall be punished with retaliation;" nevertheless, out of them grew one of the grandest systems of law which the world has ever known, a system which to-day is still in active use in over half the countries of Europe, a system which is one of the chief heritages of the modern world from ancient Rome.

After the codification of the law, the struggle between the plebeians and patricians assumed a new form. Since the law was now the property of both orders alike, the consuls could no longer hope in their legal decisions to favor their own order exclusively; therefore the original func-

253. Law
of the
Twelve
Tables

254. Strug-
gle for
political
rights

tion of the tribunes, the right to interfere in the trial of a plebeian, soon died out; but by this time the other function — the right to veto the acts of the consuls and of the legislative bodies — had so far developed as to be a powerful weapon in the hands of the plebeians, which they could use in their further struggles with the patricians.

The struggle till now had been carried on largely by the poorer plebeians, who were anxious only to lift the burden of debt and excessive military service from their shoulders, while the richer plebeians had stood aloof as uninterested spectators; but in 449 B.C. the latter also began to take a hand in the fight. Relying on the power of the tribunate, which could at will block the whole machinery of the government, they now began a vigorous struggle for equal political rights with the patricians. In 445 B.C. they gained their first victory; for in that year the Comitia Centuriata passed a law known as the *lex Canuleia* which granted to the plebeians the right of intermarriage with the patricians. Upon its face the privilege seems unimportant; but if we reflect, we shall see that by intermarriage the old distinctions between the two orders would tend gradually to disappear, and so the plebeians would come in the end to a position of equality with the higher order.

Furthermore, the Roman patrician marriage was a very solemn and serious affair, and by entering into its privileges the plebeian at once received great social distinction. In such a marriage there were two steps: first, the betrothal, in which the groom contracted with the father for the hand of his bride; second, the actual marriage, in which the bride and groom were united by a sacred ceremony, partaking together of a consecrated cake in the presence of the priests, or by a secular ceremony in which the father went through the form of selling his daughter to the groom.

The plebeians were not content with this single victory.

Almost at once they began to demand that the consulship should be thrown open to them. Against this demand, the patricians fought stubbornly; rather than share the honors of the consulship, they were ready to make any other concession, and in 444 B.C. a law was passed by which, in any year when the Comitia Centuriata so determined, a body of six Military Tribunes with consular powers might be elected instead of the consuls. This new magistracy, which must not be confused with the older plebeian tribunate, was open to either order; it differed from the consulship, however, in the one essential point that the military tribunes, while exercising all the functions of the consuls, were not entitled to any of the honors of the office.

255. Military tribunate established (444 B.C.)

In spite of this limitation, the plebeians might have been content, had not the patrician magistrates, who, as we have seen, controlled all the elections in the Comitia Centuriata, rendered the law ineffective so far as the plebeians were concerned by seeing to it that for over forty years no plebeian was elected to the military tribunate. Furthermore, the patricians, who were now fully alive to the imminence of the danger to their privileges, managed by a series of laws so to divide the imperium that many of the powers of the chief magistrates were withdrawn from the military tribunate and from the consulship alike. It is only fair to add, however, that there was another reason for this division of power: with the growth of Roman territory the duties of the magistrates became more and more complex, and consequently the simple organization of the early republic no longer sufficed. Between 444 B.C. and 367 B.C., four new patrician magistracies were created: the censors, the military quæstors, the prætors, and the patrician ædiles.

256. Weakening of the consular power

Each of these new magistracies had its special functions. The censors were intrusted with the enumeration of the citizens once in five years; they were endowed with absolute power to

fix the status of every citizen under the Servian constitution, and with the power of drawing up the senatorial lists. The military quæstors were to have control of the military chest, while the older quæstors continued to control the civil finances of the state. The prætors relieved the consuls of their functions as judicial officers. Finally, the patrician ædiles, along with the plebeian ædiles who had come into existence some time earlier, took charge of the market places, the public buildings, and the general police regulations of the city.

All these efforts were in vain. Slowly the plebeians attained to a position where they felt themselves strong enough to demand absolute equality with their patrician fellow-

**257. Licinian-Sextian
rogations
(376-367
B.C.)** citizens. After the Gallic invasion, the poorer plebeians, who were again suffering from debt and from the unjust

distribution of the public lands, joined forces with their richer brethren. The clamor for economic and political reform grew day by day till nothing could check it. In 376 B.C. two of the tribunes, Gaius Licinius Stolo and Lucius Sextius, proposed a series of laws designed to remedy the economic and political evils from which the plebeians conceived themselves to be suffering. For nine years the patricians held out, in spite of the fact that several times the tribunes actually went so far as to prevent the election of the regular magistrates. Unwearied in the struggle, the plebeians did not abate their demands, and in 367 B.C. the Licinian-Sextian proposals finally became a law.

The essential principles of the new law were as follows:—

1. That the military tribunate should be abolished, and that thenceforth one of the consuls should be a plebeian.
2. That the college of priests in charge of the Sibylline Books, which contained prophecies concerning the future of Rome, should henceforth be open to plebeians.
3. That no citizen should in future be allowed to hold more than five hundred *jugera* (about three hundred acres) of

the public land or to pasture more than one hundred oxen or five hundred sheep on the public common.



ROMAN BOOKS.

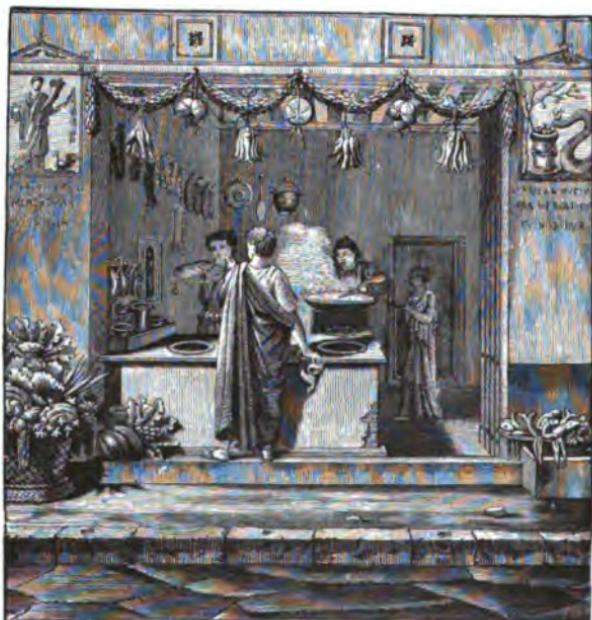
From paintings at Pompeii.

der of the debt should be paid in three annual installments.

These five provisions may be grouped under two heads: the first two are distinctly political, the last three distinctly economic. The first were intended for the relief of the political disabilities of the rich plebeians; the last, for the relief of the economic distress of the poor. Unfortunately for the republic, the economic provisions of the law became inoperative almost as soon as they were adopted; Licinius himself was convicted of having violated the law within a few years after it was passed. Nevertheless, the political provisions of the law mark the beginning of equality between the two orders. It is true that the patricians blocked the execution of the law in every way that they could; but it was on the statute books, and in the end it was executed. In time, all the other patrician magistracies were opened to the plebeians; in 357 B.C., the first plebeian dictator was appointed; in 350 B.C., the first plebeian censor; in 337 B.C., the first plebeian praetor; in 300 B.C., all the priesthoods were opened to both orders alike; and finally, in 287 B.C., the acts and resolves of the plebeian assembly were given full authority of law without the necessity of senatorial approval.

258. Results
of Licinian-
Sextian law

Thus at the beginning of the third century B.C., after a struggle of over two hundred years, the two orders had come to a position of political equality. The steps in that struggle are marked by the first secession of the plebeians 259. **Summary** and the establishment of the tribunate in 494 B.C.; by the codification of the law in 450 B.C., when the two orders became equal before the law; and finally, by the passage of the Licin-



SHOP OF A TRADESMAN. (Pompeian painting.)

ian-Sextian law in 367 B.C., by which the consulship was opened to the plebeians. After that, the other magistracies were opened in rapid succession, till no special privileges remained to the patricians.

We must not forget, however, that the equalization of the two orders did not reach down to the lowest ranks of society. The reform described, in the end benefited only the richest of

the plebeians; and from the day of the passage of the Licinian-Sextian law, there grew up in Rome a new nobility consisting of the old patrician families and the few select plebeians, and the combination monopolized all the offices of the government. The poorer plebeians and the large class of landless men, the freedmen and the tradesmen, were, for all practical purposes, as completely disfranchised as in the early days of the republic. When, therefore, we speak of the Roman republic, we mean not such a government as ours, where all classes have equal rights and privileges, and all men may aspire to office; but a government where a comparatively few citizens control the state and monopolize the honors. From its beginning to its end, the Roman republic was nothing more than an oligarchy.

TOPICS

- (1) What is meant by "appeal"? Do we enjoy such a privilege to-day? (2) Look up the stories mentioned in this chapter, in A. J. Church's *Stories from Livy*, and C. M. Yonge's *Stories of Roman History*. (3) Compare the condition of the plebeians before 494 B.C. with the condition of the lower classes in Athens before Solon's reforms. (4) What institutions did the troubles between the plebeians and the patricians bring into existence? (5) Why was it that in Athens and Rome the nobles alone knew what the laws were? (6) When did Solon live, and what did he do? (7) Why did the plebeians favor, and the patricians oppose, the Canuleian law? (8) What was the attitude of the Athenians toward foreigners who settled in their city, and how did it compare with that of the Romans in the same regard? (9) Do you see any reasons besides those mentioned in the text why new officers were appointed to take up functions hitherto fulfilled by the consuls? (10) What is a rogation? (11) How do the Licinian laws resemble those of Solon? Why did the economic provisions become inoperative so soon? (12) Why do we say that Rome was an oligarchy and not a democracy? What is the difference? (13) Is there a country to-day where the government, though democratic in essentials, is nevertheless oligarchic in its workings?
- (14) Make a table of all Roman offices showing when each was created, and when it was opened to the plebeians. Do the same

Suggestive topics

Search topics

with the assemblies. (15) Slavery in early Rome. (16) The tribune in early Rome. (17) Contents of the Twelve Tables. (18) Power of the consuls in early Rome. (19) Roman marriage customs and ceremonies.

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Illustrative works

Same as in chapter xviii. of this book.

CHAPTER XXI.

A HALF CENTURY OF ITALIAN CONQUEST (327-272 B.C.)

"HENCEFORWARD," says the historian Livy, "shall be recorded wars which are of greater importance, because of the strength of the belligerent powers, because of the distance of the countries from Rome, and because of the length of time during which they were carried on." Since the founding of the city, even in the time of the Tarquin kings, the Roman dominion had never embraced an area more than a hundred miles square; Roman legions had never undertaken campaigns more than two or three days' march from home. Now, toward the end of the fourth century B.C., the Roman republic began to conquer lands many miles from the city and peoples entirely foreign in language and customs.

Livy, vii.
29

The first of what we may call the foreign wars was with the Samnite tribes of the mountains. During more than a century, hosts of Sabellians had been making their way south through the Apennines to the plains of Italy, conquering the older races of Campania, Lucania, and Apulia, and occupying their lands. In the last years of the fourth century B.C., the main branch of the race, the Samnites, still maintained itself in the mountain fastnesses east of Latium and Campania. These Samnites were a hardy race; fierce warriors, brave and generous, who lived by the scanty produce of their flocks, and what they could gather from their raids into the more fruitful lands of their lowland neighbors. As with all mountain tribes, their fatal weaknesses were their lack of organization and their inability to persevere in a struggle against an enemy. When united, they were a most dangerous

260. Sam-nites and Romans

enemy; but union for any length of time was impossible. Furthermore, their forces were constantly weakened by the migrations of those who sought more permanent homes in the lowlands to the west and south.

Against these Samnites, the Romans, supported by their allies of the plains, were now to be arrayed. While the Samnites had been spreading and dissipating their strength, the Romans had been extending their power and carefully organizing every inch of territory that they conquered. More-



SAMNITE WARRIORS.
From a wall painting at Paestum.

over, the Samnites were a race of warriors only; civil organization they seem never to have understood: the Romans, on the other hand, had gradually created a carefully organized and well-established state, in which every man took a vivid personal interest. Thus, in the struggle about to begin, the Romans had the decided advantage.

For ten or fifteen years after the so-called first Samnite war and the last revolt of the Latin allies, which are described in a previous chapter, Rome was left in comparative peace by her neighbors. In 327 b.c., however, the Samnites occupied

the town of Neapolis (Naples), which at that time owed allegiance to Rome. Rome of course protested, and demanded that the garrison be withdrawn; but the Samnites refused to comply with the demand, unless Rome would withdraw her citizens from a colony which she had planted a few years before at Fregellæ, on the borders of Samnium. Rome refused; neither party was ready to make

261. Beginning of second Samnite war (327 B.C.)



MODERN NAPLES. (Vesuvius in the distance.)

any concessions; both felt that war was inevitable; and war was the result. It is interesting to note that at the time when these two western states were on the eve of a war which involved only a few square miles of territory, Alexander the Great had already carried his arms to the confines of India.

At the very beginning of the war, Rome allied herself with the tribes of Apulia and Lucania in southern Italy, thus con-

triving that the Samnites should be attacked from both sides at once. Then, while the Samnites were busy defending themselves on the south, the Romans began the attack; and, after a siege of more than a year's duration, Neapolis was taken.

This siege is interesting chiefly because it brought about an essential change in the Roman constitution. Heretofore, no consul or other magistrate had ever exercised his authority for more than a year at a time; but at the siege of Neapolis the issues involved were so important that the consul was continued in command of the army, with the new title of Proconsul, till the city was taken. Thus at the very beginning of her foreign wars, Rome evolved a system of military command whereby her generals might not be hampered by the brevity of their term of office; thenceforward, in almost every important war, the consul of the year was continued in authority, with the title of proconsul and the full imperium, till the campaign was closed.

After the fall of Neapolis, for several years, the progress of the war is obscured by legends of deeds of more than human

262. Disaster at Caudine Forks (321 B.C.) prowess performed by the Romans. Then suddenly, in 321 b.c., came a disaster so terrible that nothing in the previous history of Rome except the Gallic invasion could compare with it,—the capture of the whole army and both consuls in the mountain passes between Campania and Samnium. The Samnite leader caused a rumor to be spread that a Roman colony in Apulia was in imminent danger. While hurrying to the relief of this colony, the entire Roman army was entrapped at the Caudine Forks and forced to surrender, almost without striking a single blow. The whole army was forced to march under the yoke, and was then dismissed; the consuls escaped only by agreeing to a most humiliating peace.

Appian, iii. fr. 4 “When news of this calamity reached the city,” says a Roman historian, “there was wailing and lamentation

like a public mourning. The women mourned for those who had been saved in this ignominious way as for the dead. . . . Some of the returning soldiers took refuge in the fields for shame, others stole into the city at night."

Justly or unjustly, the Senate refused to ratify the treaty which the consuls had made at the Caudine Forks, and the war dragged on in spite of the Samnite protests against the Roman lack of faith. Not till six years later did the Romans seem to recover their spirit; thenceforward, what the Samnites had gained was gradually wrested from them, and by 311 B.C. none of the evil effects of the disaster of 321 B.C. seem to have remained.

About this time, the Etruscans of the north began to stir once more. Roman influence, thus far, had never extended beyond the Ciminian Forest, which lay in southern Etruria; farther north were a number of cities with which Rome had scarcely come in contact. Now the armies of these cities moved south, and attacked the Roman outposts in southern Etruria. At once, the consul for the year, Quintus Fabius Maximus, marched north, and in a few short months drove the Etruscans back beyond the Ciminian Forest, and completely overwhelmed them in their own country. Thus by this one short campaign, Roman influence was extended north as far as the Apennine Mountains. Fabius might well be proud of his achievement.

263. Etruscan campaign of
Fabius Maximus

For six or seven years longer the struggle between the Romans and the Samnites dragged on, without any definite result, till in 304 B.C. both parties were ready to end the war. By the terms of peace, Rome gained little that she had not possessed before the war; Samnium was still intact and unconquered, and Roman territory still extended only to the foot of the mountains. Nevertheless, Rome was much better off than her enemy: she had recovered from the disaster at the Caudine Forks; she had

264. End of
the war
(304 B.C.)

established her authority firmly on the borders of Samnium by her system of military posts; and, above all, she had extended her power into northern Etruria and across the mountains north into Umbria.

The peace of 304 B.C. was scarcely more than a truce; both sides went on preparing for the struggle that they felt

265. Third was certain to break out again. In 298 B.C., envoys from
~~Samnites~~
towns in Lucania came to Rome and complained that
~~war (298-~~
~~290 B.C.)~~ the Samnites were invading their lands. Scarcely stopping to investigate, Rome took up the quarrel, and sent her armies into Samnium. By sending her army directly into the enemy's country, Rome showed that she had adopted a new plan of campaign. Previously, the struggle for supremacy had been fought out along the borders; now the war was carried at once into the enemy's land.

For the moment, the Samnites were completely confounded; then their leader conceived a brilliant scheme for a counter attack, and resolved to make a bold dash through the mountain passes to the north, where he could join his forces with those of the Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls, who were again in arms against Rome. In this attempt he was successful. When news came to Rome that all her enemies were joined in a single host in Umbria, even the boldest were dismayed. Still, the Romans rallied with courage and a dogged determination to win, no matter what the odds; every man who was in the least able to bear arms responded to the levy, and under the leadership of Fabius, who had defeated the Etruscans fifteen years before, the army moved north in 295 B.C. Battle was joined near Sentinum in Umbria. Before the armies met, the Umbrians and Etruscans had deserted, and the Samnites and Gauls were left alone to fight against the Romans. Though the fight raged furiously for some time, though the colleague of Fabius was killed, and the army lost heavily in men, victory at last perched on the

standards of the Romans, and the legions marched off the field in triumph.

Five years longer the Samnites and their allies held out against the Roman arms; but the struggle was hopeless, and in 290 B.C. peace was concluded, by which Roman influence became supreme from the Apennines on the north to the Greek cities on the south. To the Samnites was left nominal liberty, but they were forced to acknowledge them-



REMAINS OF A GREEK TEMPLE AT AGRIGENTUM, SICILY.

selves the allies of Rome, and to promise to take no action in future without the approval of the dominant city.

Thus in the year 290 B.C. but one independent race was left in central and southern Italy outside the Roman dominions, — the Greeks of the southern coast and Sicily. Among these Greeks, but little was left of the glory which had marked their civilization a century earlier. One by one, the cities had succumbed to the tyrants of Syracuse, to the conquering Sabellians, or to natural decay. Tarentum alone was still of first-class importance: her ships still plied the seas, her markets were still full of busy men; but commercial glory had brought on political decay, and Tarentum

266. Breach
between
Rome and
Tarentum
(282 B.C.)

was far from being a match for the vigorous republic of the north, when, in 282 B.C., a struggle began between the two powers.

Eighteen years earlier, by a treaty with Tarentum, Rome had bound herself not to send the small fleet which she had gradually acquired, beyond the Lacinian cape, the western limit of the Bay of Tarentum. In 282 B.C. some Roman ships, in violation of the treaty, entered the harbor of Tarentum without asking leave. Convinced that the Romans intended no good, the Tarentines fell upon the fleet, destroyed five of the ships, killed the admiral, and sold the sailors, whom they captured in the fight, into slavery.

These indignities, offered to Roman citizens, were the signal for war, and the legions departed at once for southern Italy

267. Tarentum calls on Pyrrhus for aid and Calabria. Tarentum, on her part, knowing that she alone was no match for Rome, sent an invitation to

Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, asking him to come to her aid.

Pyrrhus is one of the most interesting figures in Greek history after the death of Alexander. Of an extremely prepossessing personality, high-spirited, and generous to a fault, he possessed a genius for military affairs of no mean order. For years he dreamed of making himself master of an empire which should approximate that of Alexander in size; but to him it seemed that his opportunity lay in the west. Hence, when the invitation of Tarentum came to him to join in the struggle against Rome, he was eager to accept the opportunity which the fates seemed to have thrown into his path. In 280 B.C. he crossed the Adriatic and landed in Italy with an army twenty-five thousand strong and several hundred elephants; first he established his headquarters at Tarentum, and then he moved out to meet the foe.

The battles which followed have more than ordinary interest. For the first time in history, the Roman legion was to meet the Macedonian phalanx; the virtue of the Roman military

organization with its open order was to be pitted against the formation with which Philip and Alexander had won all their victories: if the legion could withstand the attack of the phalanx, Rome need fear no other enemies. The two armies met for the first time near Heraclea in Lucania. Though the Roman legions stood their ground manfully, though the phalanxes attacked in vain, the elephants and cavalry of Pyrrhus were too much for the Romans, who were forced to retreat into Campania and Latium.

268. Battles of Heraclea and Asculum (280 and 279 B.C.)

Still, the victory was so dearly bought that Pyrrhus was ready to negotiate, and Cineas, of whom Pyrrhus used to say, "that he had taken more towns with his words than Pyrrhus had taken with his arms," was sent to Rome to offer terms of peace. The Senate, after a moment's hesitation, stoutly refused to treat unless Pyrrhus would consent to vacate his position in Italy, and therefore the war went on.

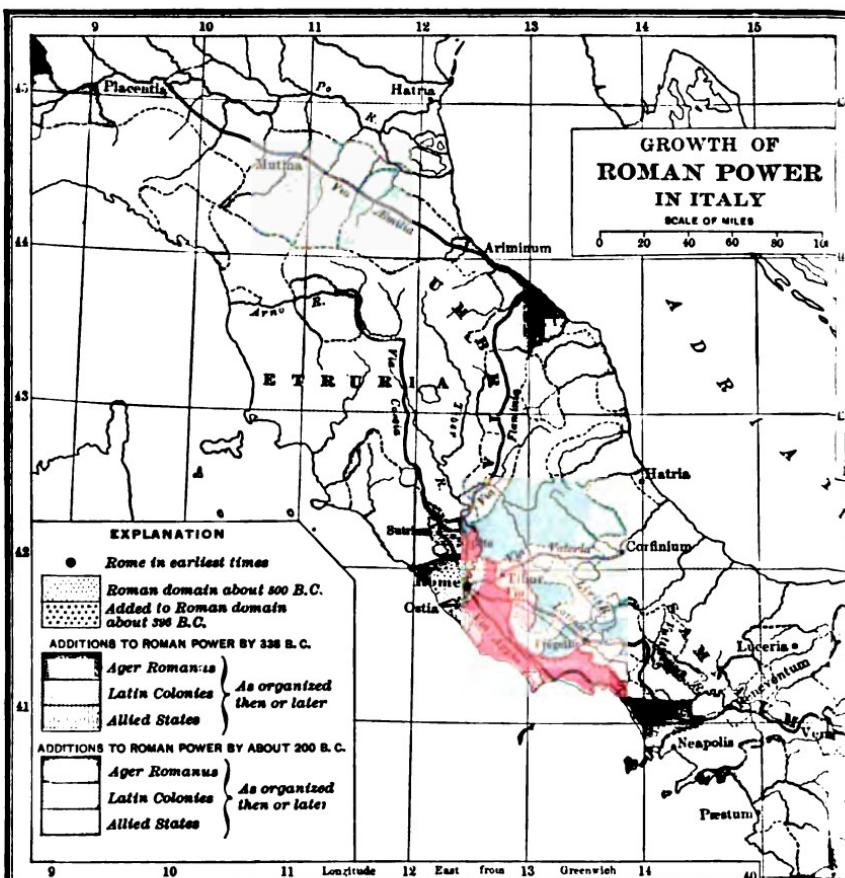
Plutarch, Pyrrhus

Next year, the armies met again; this time at Asculum in Apulia. Once again Pyrrhus was victorious, but "to one who gave him joy of his victory, he is said to have answered that one more such victory would completely undo him." Almost despairing of ultimate success, in spite of his two triumphs over the Romans, Pyrrhus retired into Tarentum to await further developments.

Plutarch, Pyrrhus

The next two years he spent in Sicily, attempting to drive the Carthaginians out of the island. Since the days when the Syracusans defeated the Athenians, Sicily had been the 269. Sicilian affairs prey of foreign foes and internal enemies. In the last years of the fifth century B.C., the Carthaginians invaded the island and devastated it from end to end. Ultimately Sicily was saved by Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, the most brilliant if the most cruel tyrant that Hellas ever produced.

Dionysius ruled over much of Sicily and southern Italy for thirty-eight years (405-367 B.C.). For thirty years longer Sicily remained in the hands of his descendants, till, in 337 B.C.,



the land was again set free by Timoleon, the Liberator, who came to Sicily from Corinth. Under him Sicily was at peace; but after his death, misgovernment, anarchy, and Carthaginian invasions once again distracted the island. It was in the hope of remedying these conditions that Pyrrhus came. At first his efforts met with success, but dissensions among his Greek allies robbed him of all the fruits of his victories, and after two years of campaigning he was compelled to abandon the island and return to Italy.

In 275 B.C., one year after his return from Sicily, he met the Romans in battle for the last time, at Beneventum in Samnium. Here the Romans, who by this time had learned how to meet the attack of the phalanx and of the corps of elephants, scored their first victory on an army foreign to Italian soil. After the battle, Pyrrhus, thoroughly discouraged, hurried back to his native country, never to appear in Italy again. "Thus," says Plutarch, "fell Pyrrhus from his Italian and Sicilian hopes. . . . Though unsuccessful in his affairs, he preserved among all these misfortunes his unconquerable courage; and for military experience and personal valor and enterprise, he was held to be much the bravest of all the princes of his times; only what he got by great actions, he lost again by vain hopes; and by constantly desiring what he had not, kept nothing of what he had."

270. End of war (275-272 B.C.)

*Plutarch,
Pyrrhus*

Three years after his departure from Italy (272 B.C.), Tarentum fell into the hands of the Romans, and the last independent power in Italy ceased to exist. Rome was now mistress of the peninsula from the Apennines on the north to the southern sea.

It remains only to see how the territory which Rome now controlled was organized. All Italian states and their inhabitants were divided into two classes—citizens and foreigners. Within each of these classes, there was again a subdivi-

271. Organization of conquered territory



sion. Citizens might be either *cives Romani* or *cives sine suffragio*. The *cives Romani* lived on the *Ager Romanus*. They were members of one of the tribes,—of which there were now thirty-three, soon to be increased to thirty-five,—or residents in one of the Roman colonies, where they retained their full right of Roman citizenship; in either case, they were privileged to vote in all the Roman assemblies, and had the further



ON THE APPIAN WAY. (Showing the remains of tombs.)

precious possibility of holding a Roman magistracy. The *cives sine suffragio* (citizens without the franchise), as residents of specially favored towns or Latin colonies, were reckoned as Roman citizens in all their civil relations, but were excluded both from the Roman franchise and from the right of holding office.

The foreigners or allies were also divided into two classes. First there were the Latin towns, whose status was fixed by

the arrangements of 338 b.c. These towns were independent in all their internal affairs, but in their relations with each other and in relations with other towns, they were absolutely dependent upon the will of Rome. Second, there were the allied cities (*civitates foederati*): states like those of Samnium, northern Etruria, Umbria, and Magna Græcia, each of which was bound to Rome by a separate treaty, which provided for mutual protection and aid. In one thing only did all these treaties agree: invariably, Rome reserved for herself absolute control over foreign affairs. Finally, from all classes alike Rome expected military service and absolute respect for Roman supremacy.

It is during this period that Rome began to build that system of military roads which served to keep her in touch with every part of her dominions. Early in the third century b.c. the Via Latina (Latin Way) and the Via Appia (Appian Way), the main arteries of travel to the south, were completed; and later many other roads of a similar character were constructed.

Thus, in a period of fifty-five years, Rome had advanced from a position where she controlled a territory not more than a hundred miles square, to a position where she was mistress of all Italy. In two wars, she stood opposed to the Samnites; in the one, she was struggling to establish her borders firmly against her enemy, while incidentally she added to her domain the lands of northern Etruria; in the other, she succeeded in extinguishing the independence of her rival and of many other states besides. Then came the short and sharp struggle with the cities of Magna Græcia. For a time her legions were defeated by the phalanxes of Pyrrhus, a foreign king, but the check was only temporary; in the end, the Roman arms were victorious, and the city was mistress of the entire peninsula south of the Apennine Mountains.

Of the whole epoch of two hundred and thirty-seven years

272. Summary

since the establishment of the republic, no summary can be more perfect than these few words of the historian Mommsen:

Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, bk. ii. ch. 8. “There was no epoch of mightier vigor in the history of Rome than the epoch from the institution of the republic to the subjugation of Italy. That epoch laid the foundations of the commonwealth both within and without; it created a united Italy; it gave birth to the traditional groundwork of the national law and of the national history.”

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

- (1) Enumerate the conquests made by Rome before 284 B.C., and show the status which was given to each. (2) Why was the office of proconsul necessary? (3) Why was Rome victorious over the Samnites? Why were the latter such formidable enemies? Can you name any other races which have been hard to conquer for the same reason? (4) Why did not the Greek mother country of Tarentum protect her against Rome as Rome protected her colonies against foreign invaders? (5) What is the Samnite country now called? (6) What does the treaty between Tarentum and Rome show about Rome's commercial advance? (7) What was the order of the phalanx? (8) What were the real motives of Pyrrhus in undertaking his expedition to Italy? (9) What was Pyrrhus seeking in Sicily? (10) What reasons can you assign for Rome's failure to give to the conquered peoples full rights of citizenship?

Search topics

- (11) Livy's reputation as a historian. (12) Battle of the Caudine Forks. (13) Ought the Senate to have ratified the treaty of the Caudine Forks? (14) Pyrrhus in Greece. (15) Ancient opinion of elephants.

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See map, pp. 216, 217.

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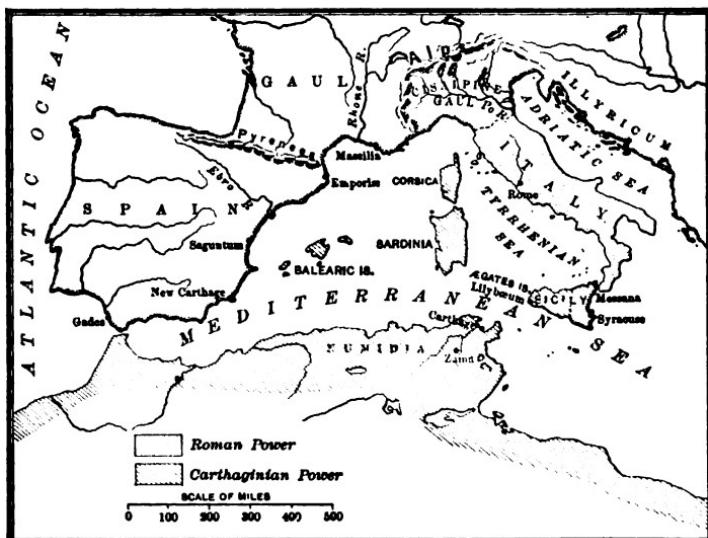
CHAPTER XXII.

THE CONQUEST OF TERRITORY BEYOND THE ITALIAN PENINSULA (264-221 B.C.)

In the ninth century B.C., a group of Phoenician colonists from the city of Tyre settled on the promontory where Africa approaches nearest to Sicily, and called their city Carthage. For several centuries these people, like all Phoenician (or, as the Romans called them, Punic) colonists, were content to live as tenants of the savage tribes about them; so long as they were allowed to trade in peace, they asked for no more land than was necessary for their depots and warehouses. Then came a time when conditions changed and conquests were undertaken. Northern Africa, with its mixed Phoenician and Libyan population, was the first to fall under the Carthaginian yoke; next, the coasts of Spain and the islands of the sea: till in the whole western Mediterranean basin, no power existed to dispute the Carthaginian control of the sea, except the Greek cities of Sicily.

Year by year the power of Carthage grew, till, in any struggle with a foreign nation, the city could bring to bear immense resources. Her citizens were endowed with great wealth, the result of their extensive commerce; the state had at its disposal the vast revenues which flowed into the treasury from the tributary nations, from customs duties, from the products of government mines, and from numerous colonies. In the field of war, the city was represented, first by an army drawn from among the citizens, second by troops levied in her dependencies, and finally by large bands of mercenaries hired among all nations. On the sea, the Carthaginian fleet was unrivaled by that of any power in the ancient world.

Had healthy political conditions existed at Carthage, Rome as it came into contact with the African city would have been a pygmy beside this commercial giant. Even as it was, Rome seemed at first sight to have no chance in a struggle with Carthage. Her population was still scanty, her resources small, her allies few. What she lacked in visible resources, however, she made up in the vigor and determination with



ROME AND CARTHAGE IN 264 B.C.

which her citizens served the state, and in the loyalty of her allies. The contest between the two cities finally came, not in Italy and not in Africa, but in Sicily, the ancient battle ground between eastern and western civilization.

It is said that when Pyrrhus was leaving Sicily in 276 B.C., he exclaimed, "How brave a field of war do we leave, my friends, for the Romans and Carthaginians to fight in." Back in the year 285 B.C. or thereabouts, some Campanian mercenaries, called Mamertines (sons of Mars),

*Plutarch,
Pyrrhus
274. First
Punic war
begins*

seized upon the city of Messana. In 265 b.c., these Mamertines, to escape the wrath of Hiero, king of Syracuse, called upon Rome to help them. When the envoys appeared in the Senate, the Fathers hesitated; if they resolved to give aid, it would mean that Rome was ready to adopt an entirely new policy, that she was ready to take her place in the race for the control of the Mediterranean basin. Thus far no Roman had ever con-

templated the possibility of interfering in affairs outside of Italy; Rome had been content to limit her political ambitions to the complete control of the peninsula. Finally, the Senate shifted the responsibility upon the people; and the people at once decided upon the newer and broader policy, and resolved to send aid to the Mamertines.

In 264 b.c., a Roman army moved south and took up its station at Rhegium, just across the strait from Messana. Meantime the Mamertines had accepted the mediation of the Carthaginians; the trouble with Hiero was settled, and the Carthaginians were in possession of the citadel. The Romans, however, refused to accept the situation; by a series of maneuvers of a very questionable morality they succeeded in dislodging the Carthaginians and in gaining possession of the city.

As might have been expected, Carthage at once declared war. For the first two years, the Romans prosecuted the war so vigorously that, by 262 b.c., the entire eastern part of Sicily was in their possession. In 263 b.c. even Hiero abandoned his alliance with Carthage, and thenceforth, to the day of his death, he was a stanch ally of Rome.

Failing to maintain themselves in the eastern part of the



COIN OF HIERO.

275. First
years of
war (264-
260 B.C.)

island, the Carthaginians intrenched themselves at Agrigentum, and in 262 B.C. the Romans laid siege. The siege lasted *Polybius*, ^{i. 20} seven months, and then the city fell. "Great was the joy of the Roman Senate when the news of what had taken place at Agrigentum arrived. Their ideas were now so exalted that they no longer confined themselves to their original



ROMAN SHIPS. (Restoration.)

designs; . . . they now conceived the idea that it was possible to expel the Carthaginians entirely from the island."

"Yet so long as the Carthaginians were in undisturbed command of the sea," Polybius goes on to say, "the balance of success could not incline decisively in favor of the Romans." A fleet must therefore be built. Undaunted by their comparative ignorance of the sea, the Romans set about the task with marvelous vigor. Using an abandoned Carthaginian galley as a model, they succeeded in putting a fleet of over a hundred ships on the sea in less than two years.

To make up for their lack of skill in maneuvering these



ships, they hit upon an entirely novel idea in naval construction: to the prow of each ship they fitted a revolving drawbridge, so that from whatever direction they might be attacked, they could let this drawbridge drop on the deck of the opposing ship, and then, by boarding, transform the battle into a hand-to-hand conflict on the enemy's deck.

The Roman fleet fought its first battle off Mylæ, in north-eastern Sicily (260 B.C.). The Carthaginians, in their supreme contempt for these Roman "landlubbers," neglected to take the most ordinary precautions, and in consequence they were completely defeated. By this one engagement, the Romans for the time being became masters of the Sicilian seas; and the admiral, Duilius, was ever honored as one of the greatest heroes of the nation.

For the next three or four years, the war dragged on with little of importance to mark its progress. Then, in 257 B.C., the cry, "On to Africa," was taken up by every citizen in Rome. Vast preparations were undertaken, and in 256 B.C. an immense fleet set out from Sicily with Marcus Atilius Regulus and Lucius Manlius Vulso in command. The three hundred and thirty ships which represented the Roman power, met and defeated the Carthaginian fleet which was waiting for them off Ecnomus, on the southern coast of Sicily. Thence the armada proceeded unmolested to Africa and landed just east of the city of Carthage. So confident of victory were the Romans, that Vulso and a large part of the army were recalled to Italy before the campaign began. On the other hand, fear filled the hearts of the Carthaginians, and they were ready to make peace on any reasonable terms; but since Regulus was obdurate and demanded absolute surrender, negotiations were broken off, and the Carthaginians prepared to meet the Roman attack.

During the winter, while Regulus wasted his time, the Carthaginian army was reorganized; and in the spring the

Carthaginians took the field reasonably sure of victory. Battle was soon joined, and the legions, successful the summer before, were now utterly routed. Many perished on the field; many more were taken prisoners, among them Regulus himself; only a remnant escaped to the sea, where they were rescued by a Roman fleet. Thus the African expedition, which started with such brilliant prospects of success, ended in disaster, and the seat of war was again transferred to Sicily.

Two years of fighting in Sicily passed without any decided successes on either side; then, in 251 B.C., the Roman legions, 278. Second led by Lucius Cæcilius Metellus, routed the enemy before war in Sicily (253-241 B.C.) the city of Panormus, and once again Rome became mistress of the resources of the island.

The Carthaginians were now confined to the extreme western coast in Lilybaeum and Drepanum. From these strongholds, the Romans tried in vain to dislodge them; attack after attack was made till the Roman resources were almost exhausted. In 249 B.C. the consul Publius Claudius attempted to surprise the Carthaginian fleet off Drepanum, but was himself defeated. Had the Carthaginians adopted a vigorous policy and brought the immense wealth of the city to bear, they might yet have regained control of the island; but indolence and selfishness gained the day over valor, and both sides were content to let the war drag on. During the next eight years, the struggle never rose above a series of petty engagements in which neither side won or lost any decisive battle.

One man alone stands out among the combatants as worthy of the name of a great general. This is Hamilcar Barca, the Carthaginian. Coming to Sicily in 247 B.C., he realized that his only hope of success lay in a sort of guerrilla warfare by which the Roman legions might ultimately be exhausted. He established himself upon two hills, Mount Eryx and Mount Ercte, in western Sicily, and for six years he kept up a series of raids, which drove the Romans to the verge of despair.

Unless something were done to check these attacks, the Romans felt that soon they must resign the island to the enemy.

It was the patriotism of private citizens, and not the energy of the Senate, which saved Rome from disgrace. By private subscription, a fleet of two hundred ships was fitted out ^{279. Battle of Egates Islands} and sent to the western coast of Sicily. Before the Carthaginians were aware what had happened, the harbors of ^(241 B.C.) Lilybaeum and Drepanum were blockaded, and the cities were vigorously besieged. In a vain endeavor to relieve the cities,



MOUNT ERCTE AS SEEN FROM PALERMO (THE ANCIENT PANORMUS).

the Carthaginians fitted out and manned a fleet. Heavily laden with supplies, and poorly manned, this fleet was met and completely defeated by the Romans off the *Ægates Islands*.

With their last fleet destroyed, with Lilybaeum and Drepanum lost, with no other forces in Sicily than those of Hamilcar, the Carthaginians realized that to continue the war was useless. "Thereupon," says Polybius, "Hamilcar acted the part ^{Polybius, i. 62} of a gallant general and a sensible man. As long as there had been any reasonable hope of success, nothing was too adventurous or too dangerous for him to attempt. . . . But when all his endeavors miscarried, and no reasonable expectation was left of saving his troops, he yielded to the in-

evitable and sent ambassadors to treat for peace and terms of accommodation."

The terms of peace, in themselves, were simple. Carthage was to relinquish all claim to the island of Sicily, was to release all prisoners of war, and was to pay a large indemnity, sufficient to repay Rome for the cost of the war. Beyond this she was to be left in full possession of all her ancient rights and privileges. As yet there was no thought of curtailing the perfect independence of the city.

The most important result of the war was the political lesson which it taught the Romans. Rome had entered into the war as a purely continental power, with no definite thought of dominion beyond the sea. In the twenty odd years of war, her policy had so changed that the possession of land beyond Italy seemed entirely natural. In a word, Rome had entered upon a career of conquest which, in the end, was to make her mistress of the ancient world. In the second place, the war had forced Rome to become a naval as well as a military power. Still, in spite of the brilliant victories of Mylæ, Ecnomus, and the *Aegates Islands*, the Romans can not be said to have developed much skill as sailors. Neither now nor afterward was the Roman genius fitted for the sea; to the end of their history, the Romans disliked the sea and used, so far as possible, the ships of their maritime allies to fight their battles against foreign navies.



COLUMN TO COMMEMORATE
THE BATTLE OF MYLÆ.

Adorned with beaks of the
captured ships.

Following the ratification of the peace, the evacuation of Sicily began at once. The Carthaginian mercenaries, Libyans, Iberians, half-breed Greeks, the scum of the eastern and western worlds, scarcely set foot on African soil before they broke out into insurrection. Carthage was unable to pay them their wages, and they proposed to take by force what their masters denied them. From Africa the insurrection spread to Sardinia and Corsica, and before the revolt was quelled, the two islands were lost to Carthage forever. On the invitation of the natives, Roman legions protested violently, in 238 B.C. both islands were annexed to the Roman dominions.

231. Ac-
quisition of
Sardinia
and Corsica
(238 B.C.)

Rome now possessed three islands, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, for which some form of government must be devised. In all her relations with the races of Italy, Rome had hitherto followed a uniform policy. First, the territory was secured by planting military or maritime colonies, which prevented hostile uprisings. Next, large numbers of the inhabitants of Italy were incorporated directly into the body of Roman citizens with full rights of suffrage, or received the protection of Roman citizenship without the franchise. Finally, to many of the tribes which had supported Rome in her wars, the position of allies was granted; that is, they were to retain their local freedom, though they owed to Rome the obligation of bowing to her will in foreign affairs and of contributing to the military force of the dominant city.

232. The
new provin-
cial system

After the conquest of Sicily and the annexation of Sardinia and Corsica, the Romans inaugurated an entirely new system: henceforward, the new countries added to the Roman dominion were organized as dependencies or provinces. Sicily became the first, and Sardinia and Corsica together formed the second Roman province. To each a governor was sent out each year with power more absolute in his province than that of the

consul at home: he was general of the army, civil magistrate, and supreme judge, all in one; from his decisions there was no appeal.

To the inhabitants of the provinces were accorded rights and privileges similar to those of the Italians, but in one way they were placed upon a scale much lower than the allies. From the inhabitants of Italy, Rome never required an annual



PIRATE SHIP.

Ancient vase painting.

payment as a sign of homage; instead, they were allowed the dignity of furnishing levies for the Roman army: from the provinces, on the other hand, Rome exacted a money tribute and rigorously suppressed all evidences of a

military spirit. Thus the spirit of manhood sank rapidly in the provinces, while the inhabitants of Italy continued, for a long time to come, to be a military race.

Meanwhile, trouble had been brewing for some time in the north and northeast. Beyond the Adriatic, in Illyricum, a

283. Illyrian war (230 B.C.) race of pirates had lived from time immemorial on the plunder of ships of the Italian and Greek merchants.

In 230 B.C. a direct appeal was made to Rome against this piratical race. Rome's interest strongly demanded that she abate this nuisance, for freedom of the sea was necessary for the prosperity of Rome's possessions on the coast and over seas; hence the war was undertaken without hesitation. In a single campaign, the Illyrians were reduced to submission. Rome asked for no territory; freedom of trade and a guaranty against further depredations upon the commerce of the Adriatic were the only concessions which the victors demanded, and these the vanquished gladly granted.

Thus far in Roman history, the northern boundary of Italy had been the southern slopes of the Apennine Mountains. In

the interval between the first and second Punic wars, Rome succeeded in extending her authority to the southern slopes of the Alps. About 238 B.C. the Gauls, who had been quiet since the time of the third Samnite war, a half century before, again began to show signs of uneasiness. Fortunately for the peace of Rome, the hostile tribes at that time turned upon each other and saved the city from serious trouble.

234. Gallic wars (238-223 B.C.)

Six years later (232 B.C.), the tribune Gaius Flaminius passed in the Comitia Tributa Plebis a law whereby a number of citizens should be settled in the territory which had been wrested from the Gauls of northern Umbria in the third Samnite war. When news of this proposed settlement reached the Gauls of the Po valley, they at once took alarm, justly fearing lest the Romans should ultimately extend the same system of distributing land into their territory. For six or seven years, the Gauls were busy perfecting their organization; finally, in 225 B.C., they marched into Etruria, advancing as far south as Clusium. At first they were successful; but before long they were met and routed by a Roman army at Telamon, on the western coast. Next year, the Romans resolved to invade the land of the Gauls. For two years an active campaign was conducted in the valley of the Po, and one by one the tribes were forced into submission.

No definite organization of the territory was as yet undertaken, but under the leadership of Flaminius the land was secured by a series of colonies, and especially by the construction of the great military road, the Via Flaminia, which did for the north what the Via Appia and the Via Latina had done for the south. It kept the way into the Gallic country open for the Roman armies, and thus insured the city against further trouble from the hostile tribes.

The history of the first Punic war may be summed up as follows. In its origin, the war was due to the clash of

interests between partisans of Rome and Carthage in Messana. In the first four years of the war, the Romans succeeded in driving the Carthaginians almost completely out of the island. In 260 B.C. the Romans put their first fleet upon the water and under Duilius won the battle of Mylæ. Four years later, Regulus undertook the invasion of Africa; at first, success seemed about to crown his efforts, but in the end his carelessness cost the Romans all that their earlier efforts had gained. In 253 B.C. the seat of the war was again transferred to Sicily, where the struggle dragged out its length for over ten years, relieved only by the victory of Metellus at Panormus, by the siege of Lilybaeum, and by the brilliant guerrilla warfare of Hamilcar. In 241 B.C. came the climax of the war: off the Ægates Islands the Romans won so decisive a victory that the Carthaginians were forced to sue for peace. By the terms of the treaty, Carthage surrendered all claims to Sicily, returned all prisoners of war, and bound herself to pay a heavy indemnity.

During the next twenty years Rome was busy, first in organizing her two new provinces of Sicily and of Sardinia and Corsica; next in fighting a short war against the Illyrian pirates; and finally in subduing the Gauls of the Po valley, thus extending her authority north to the Alps, the natural boundary of Italy.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

- (1) With what modern nation can you compare Carthage in 264 B.C.? (2) Did Rome have as much justification in undertaking the war in Sicily as she did in undertaking the Tarentine war?
- (3) Why did Rome need a fleet in this war? (4) What are the advantages of guerrilla warfare? Can you give instances of its successful use in more recent times?
- (5) What is the economic character of those nations which maintain the most successful navies?
- (6) Why were not the Romans a great naval power? (7) What do you think of Rome's attitude after the first Punic war?
- (8) What were the weak points of the Roman provincial system?

(9) Can you see any reason for the difference in the treatment of Carthage and of Illyria?

(10) The farthest extent of Carthaginian dominion. (11) Roman Search topics opinions of the Carthaginians. (12) Ancient remains in Sicily. (13) The taking by storm of Agrigentum. (14) Early Roman ships.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR (219-202 B.C.)

To make good the loss of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, after the close of the first Punic war, Carthage turned her arms against the half-civilized tribes of the Spanish peninsula.

286. Hannibal the man and the soldier First under Hamilcar, and then under his son-in-law,

Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian forces conquered that peninsula as far north as the river Ebro. When, in 221 B.C., Hasdrubal was murdered, Hannibal, son of Hamilcar, then twenty-nine years old, succeeded him as chief general. Devoted by his father from early childhood to eternal hatred of Rome, the young commander at once resolved to renew the war with the enemy of his native city.

Of Hannibal, it is difficult to say anything that is extravagant: he stands with Cyrus, Alexander, and Cæsar as one

Livy, xxi. 4 of the four greatest geniuses of antiquity. "Never," says Livy, "was one and the same spirit more skillful to meet opposition, to obey, or to command. . . . By no difficulties could his body be tired, or his ardor dampened. Heat and cold, he suffered with equal endurance. . . . He was by long



"HANNIBAL."
National Museum, Naples.

odds the best rider and the best marcher in the army. He went into battle first, he came out of it last."

No difficulty which nature or man could put into his path ever affrighted him. His judgment was unerring as to the place where he should fight a battle and the odds which he could give with impunity; his power of luring the enemy into the position which he chose for battle seemed more than human. Furthermore, he possessed extraordinary discretion and at the same time a burning enthusiasm which endeared him to all his soldiers; he mingled an exceptional amount of caution with an untiring energy. In battle, he was crafty, fond of the unexpected, a thorough master of all sorts of ambushes and surprises. In a word, he was, as the modern historian Dodge calls him, "the father of military strategy." That he maintained himself in an enemy's country alone and almost unaided for over fifteen years, as we shall see he did, is enough to attest the extraordinary quality of his genius.

In 226 B.C., Hasdrubal had made an agreement with the Romans that the cities of Saguntum and Emporizæ, Greek colonies on the east coast of Spain and allies of Rome, should be saved from harm, and that no Carthaginian army should cross the Ebro. Feeling certain that the Romans were only waiting for a favorable moment to attack Africa, Hannibal resolved to disregard this treaty, and if possible to capture Saguntum. More than a year he waited, perfecting his plans; and then, before the Romans could move, he attacked the city and after a stubborn fight entered its gates. Thereupon an embassy was hurried from Rome to Carthage with a demand that the state should repudiate the acts of Hannibal and indemnify Rome for the loss of Saguntum. Carthage refused, and the Romans at once declared war.

Without waiting for the Romans to begin hostilities, Hannibal resolved to abandon his base of supplies in Spain, and without relying on immediate aid from home, to march directly

287. Beginning of second Punic war (219 B.C.)

through Gaul into northern Italy. Here he expected to be joined by the Gallic tribes which Rome had conquered

288. The march to Italy but a few years before with an iron hand. Accordingly, he set forth from New Carthage in 218 B.C., leaving his younger brother Hasdrubal in command in Spain, crossed the Pyrenees, and when Publius Cornelius Scipio, the Roman consul, landed at Massilia on his way to Spain, Hannibal had already reached the river Rhone. Scipio made a feeble attempt to stop the progress of his enemy; but Hannibal avoided a battle by making a detour to the north.

Publius then sent his brother, Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, onto Spain with the larger part of his army, and returned to Italy so as to block the way against Hannibal. Meanwhile the Carthaginians had crossed the Alps into Cisalpine Gaul, *Polybius*, as the Po valley was called. "From the beginning of iii. 55 his march, Hannibal lost many of his men. . . . The whole march from New Carthage occupied five months, the actual passage of the Alps fifteen days; and now he boldly entered the Po valley with such of his army as survived,—twelve thousand Libyans, eight thousand Iberians, and not more than six thousand cavalry." The facts are simple, but the deed is one of the most dramatic in all ancient history.

In Cisalpine Gaul, as he had anticipated, Hannibal was joined by many Gauls. At the river Ticinus, he met the **289. Battle of the river Trebia (218 B.C.)** Romans for the first time and easily defeated them. Scipio was forced to fall back upon the river Trebia and wait for his colleague Tiberius Sempronius. When Sempronius came up, he demanded that the army should attack Hannibal once more. Scipio demurred, but Sempronius had his way. Hannibal at once adapted his plans to meet the situation: first he allowed Sempronius to cross the river, and then, when he had enticed him into a position where the advantage was altogether with the Carthaginians, he fell upon the Romans and defeated them.

Hannibal was now master of northern Italy. When spring came, he set about accomplishing the next step in his plan.

Crossing the Apennines, he marshaled his army in the plains of Etruria. Eluding the consul Flaminius, the man who had carried on the war against the Gauls several years before, he marched south; apparently on his way to Rome. Flaminius followed and came upon him in a narrow defile near Lake Trasimenus. Again the battlefield was exactly that which Hannibal had chosen: the Roman army was completely routed, and the consul paid for his lack of judgment with his life.

When news of the battle reached Rome, the prætor in charge of the city contented himself with announcing, "We have been defeated in a great battle!" The city was put in a state of defense, and a dictator, Quintus Fabius Maximus, called Cunctator (delayer) was appointed.

The Romans, however, had no need to fear for the safety of their city. Hannibal knew very well that to attack a well-walled and well-defended city at the moment would mean nothing but disaster; therefore he turned east through Umbria and marched south by easy stages past the neighborhood of Rome to Apulia. Here he rested during the remainder of the summer, reorganizing his army, and doing all in his power to bring the Samnites and the tribes of southern Italy to repudiate their alliance with Rome. In this he was unsuccessful; the treatment which Rome had accorded her allies since the close of the Italian wars had been so fair that not one abandoned the alliance which in earlier times had been sealed in blood. In Fabius, too, Rome found just the right man for the times. Of a most noble family, proud, self-conscious, tenacious of purpose, firm and deliberate in action, he resolved to refuse an engagement with Hannibal, no matter what the chances of success. By this policy, it is true, he gained no direct advantage for Rome; but at least he

290. Battle
of Lake
Trasimenus
(217 B.C.)

Livy,
xxii. 7

291. Dicta-
tors
hip of
Fabius

saved the state from another disaster like Trasimenus, and at the same time gave the city time to recuperate after the fearful losses of the previous two years.

In spite of their recent experiences, the Romans groaned under the inactivity which Fabius imposed upon them. In

292. Battle of Cannæ (216 B.C.) Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. iii. ch. 5
the spring of 216 B.C., at the consular elections, though the nobles protested, though the danger from Hannibal was still present, the commons insisted upon the election of Gaius Terentius Varro, "an incapable man who was known only by his opposition to the Senate . . . who was recommended to the multitude solely by his humble birth and his coarse effrontery." Lucius Æmilius Paulus, a man of

noble family, tried in politics and in war, was elected as his colleague.

The two consuls at once marched east into Apulia. Paulus appreciated the genius of his enemy, and advised caution, but Varro, anxious to justify his election by a victory, rushed into battle almost as soon as he came upon Hannibal. For the third time,

Hannibal was allowed to choose the battlefield. On the river Aufidus, near the town of Cannæ, the two armies came into contact. The engagement was another Trasimenus. Crossing the river, the Romans moved into battle in spite of the vigorous protests of Paulus; what followed can scarcely be called a fight; it was more like the slaughter of a

Polybius, iii. 116
herd of cattle by trained and intelligent butchers. Thousands of Romans were killed. "Paulus himself fell



BATTLE OF CANNÆ.

in the thick of the fight, covered with wounds: a man who, if ever a man did, performed his duty to his country." Varro was saved to lead the remnant of his army back to Rome.

"When the disaster was announced in the city, multitudes thronged the streets, uttering lamentations for their relatives, calling on them by name, and bewailing their own fate as soon to fall into the enemy's hands. . . . The magistrates besought the gods by sacrifices and prayers that if they had any cause of anger they would be satisfied with the punishment already visited."

*Appian,
Hannibalic
War, v.
293. Re-
sults of the
battle*

The days which followed were the darkest which Rome had ever seen. Thus far, Hannibal had fought Rome practically alone; his victories had been due entirely to his wonderful military genius and to the fact that in each campaign Rome had had at least one incompetent general. The Romans had also suffered from the division between the commons and the Senate, which existed within the city itself. Now the hopes of Hannibal seemed about to be fulfilled; many of the allies finally deserted the Roman cause, and aid was promised from sources outside the peninsula.

In her darkest days, Rome showed the fiber of which her citizens were made. In Carthage or in the kingdoms of the east, even in Athens, such a disaster as Varro had brought upon his city would have been punished with death; in Rome, he was received as one who had done his best for his country, and therefore deserved the sincere thanks of the populace. The defeat was accepted, and all classes resolved to strain every nerve to save the city from the impending ruin. Differences between the Senate and the populace were forgotten; an army was scraped together from all sources; and the further conduct of the war was intrusted to competent hands. Fabius was again placed in command, and with him was associated Marcus Claudius Marcellus, a man of wide military experience.

The two men were excellent foils for each other: where Fabius won victories for his country by refusing battle, Marcellus succeeded by taking long chances and by his indomitable energy. Heedless of his personal safety, inspired by a strong heart and the love of country, he was ready to meet the enemy wherever he found him, and had the skill to succeed. With two such leaders, Rome's fortunes began to revive. "The *Plutarch*, vigor of the one mixed with the steadiness of the other *Fabius* made a happy combination which proved the salvation of Rome."

Nevertheless, for the moment, all things seemed favorable to the great Carthaginian commander. Capua revolted and opened its gates to the invader; and the Samnites and 294. *Hannibal's allies* many other Sabellian tribes threw in their fortunes with *fall him* the conqueror. From across the Adriatic came the news that Philip V., king of Macedonia, was ready to join in the hostile demonstration against Rome; and in Sicily, just at this time, the death of Hiero was the signal for Syracuse to abandon the Roman alliance. If aid would only come to Hannibal from Africa and from Spain, no Roman army could withstand this man, who for three years had opposed the republic with his small army of veterans and such recruits as he could gather in hostile Italy.

It was the fortune of Rome and the misfortune of Hannibal that all these sources failed. Hope of aid from Carthage had to be abandoned because the oligarchs who were in control of the city declared that the war was of Hannibal's making, and that he must therefore fight it out alone. In Spain, as we shall see presently, Hasdrubal was held in check by a Roman army, so that he could render no assistance to his brother. Finally, Philip V. was involved in a war with the Greek states, and he, too, was prevented from sending any aid to his ally.

In Sicily and Italy, meanwhile, all the energies of Marcellus and Fabius were devoted to stamping out the revolts which

had followed the battle of Cannæ. For three years (215-213 B.C.) both sides waited: Hannibal was still hopeful that aid might reach him from Macedonia, Carthage, or Spain; the Romans were slowly recovering from the shock of three successive defeats.

295. Marcellus in Sicily (213-209 B.C.)

In 212 B.C. Marcellus began a vigorous siege of Syracuse. Here the sturdy qualities of the "Sword of Rome," as he was called, showed to great advantage. Holding on with dogged determination till the city was exhausted, he finally entered its gates and punished its citizens for their defection from Rome. In two years more all Sicily was again completely in the power of Rome.



MARCELLUS.

In Italy, where Hannibal was constantly to be reckoned with, the peculiar talents of Fabius showed to equal advantage. For four years he refused to engage in battle, and then, when Hannibal was absent in southern Italy, he suddenly began the siege of Capua, which had been the center of all the disaffected Italian tribes, a zealous ally of Hannibal, and a constant menace to Rome. Hannibal hastened to the relief, but his efforts to raise the siege by direct attack proved useless, and therefore he resolved to make a demonstration against the city of Rome. Though he scarcely hoped to take the city, he expected by this demonstration to draw the besieging army from before Capua. This hope was speedily shattered; the Roman reserves successfully opposed his advance, and nothing was accomplished. In 211 B.C. Capua fell. Fearful was the punishment meted out to the city: death or slavery was the lot of almost every citizen; scarcely one stone was left standing on another within the walls. The fate of Capua should be, the Romans declared, a perpetual warning to all allies that treachery to the imperial city was an unpardonable crime.

296. Siege and capture of Capua

The fall of Capua really marks the end of Hannibal's hopes in Italy. For two years more he fought in vain to save Tarentum from ruin; but in 209 B.C. that city, too, fell before the Roman arms, and nothing was left for Hannibal but to retire into Bruttium to wait for reinforcements from his brother Hasdrubal in Spain.

In the nine years that Hannibal had been in Italy, war had been going on continuously in Spain. For six years Publius

297. The war in Spain and Gnaeus Scipio had kept Hasdrubal so busy that he was unable to send the reinforcements which his brother so sorely needed. In 211 B.C., he finally succeeded in entrapping the brothers, and before they could turn to help themselves their army was cut to pieces and they themselves were killed.

Fortunately for Rome, Capua had just fallen, so that forces could be hurried to Spain to retrieve

the defeat. Before the end of the year, Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of the Publius who had been killed, was sent out to take command. Of this younger Scipio we shall hear more later; for the present it is sufficient to say that he set out for Spain surrounded by all the glamour of a great family name, a handsome presence, extreme youth, and full confidence in himself, and followed by the interest which people naturally take in a son who goes out to avenge his father.



PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

National Museum, Naples.

Scipio speedily achieved such success in Spain as justified the Romans in the high hopes which they had placed in his selection. In 209 B.C. he captured New Carthage, and thus deprived Hasdrubal of his base of supplies. Next year, however, he allowed Hasdrubal to elude him, and to cross the Pyrenees on his way to reinforce Hannibal, who was waiting for him in Bruttium; but with Hasdrubal out of the way, Scipio soon subdued the rest of Spain, and in 206 B.C. returned to Italy, happy in the consciousness that he had conquered the European stronghold of Carthaginian power.

When news that Hasdrubal had crossed the Alps spread through Italy, terror seized upon the people: the lion of Africa was not dead, he was simply resting in southern Italy; and if his brother succeeded in making a junction with him, the whole of Italy might once more become his prey. Marcus Livius and Gaius Claudius Nero were consuls for the year; Nero was sent south to watch Hannibal, while Livius went north to oppose the advance of Hasdrubal. A messenger bearing tidings of Hasdrubal's position fell into the hands of Nero, and he at once resolved to abandon his position in front of Hannibal and march north to join his colleague, leaving only enough men behind to watch the camp of Hannibal. When the two consuls met they resolved to force Hasdrubal into battle, and the issue was joined on the banks of the river Metaurus in Umbria. Hasdrubal fought stubbornly, but fortune was with the Romans, and the Carthaginian was defeated; his forces were scattered, and he himself was killed.

Nero hastened back to his army in the south, lest Hannibal should become aware of his absence. The news of the victory in the north he brutally conveyed to his enemy by throwing the bloody head of Hasdrubal into the Carthaginian camp. Hannibal's grief is fitly described by the Roman poet Horace:—

299. End
of Hanni-
bal's inva-
sion

*Horace,
Odes, iv. 4*

"To Carthage ne'er again shall I
Send heralds proud of victory!
Our swelling hopes, our lofty fortunes fall,
Destroyed with thee, unhappy Hasdrubal."

Hannibal, who had advanced into Lucania, again retired into Bruttium. In 206 b.c. Scipio returned from Spain; next year he was elected consul, and resolved to carry the war into Africa. Two years later (203 b.c.), Hannibal was recalled from Italy. "It is said that when Hannibal heard the message of the ambassadors, he gnashed his teeth, groaned, and scarcely refrained from shedding tears. . . . 'Hannibal hath been conquered,' he said, 'not by the Roman people, who have been so often slain and routed, but by the Carthaginian Senate, through envy and distraction.'" Thus failed Hannibal's invasion of Italy. For over five hundred years no other general ever again came so near to crushing the power of Rome.

After an absence of thirty-six years, the Libyan lion stood once more upon his native soil. The armies of Scipio and 300. Battle Hannibal met at Zama, many miles southwest of of Zama and Carthage. The troops in the camps on the eve of the peace (202 B.C.) battle felt that a final crisis had come. "Before to-morrow night, they said, they would know whether Rome or Carthage was to give laws to the world; not Africa nor Italy, but the whole world would be the prize of victory." When the battle was joined, the victor of a hundred fields in Italy was defeated by the Roman general; Trebia, Trasimenus, and Cannæ were avenged.

Peace between the two cities speedily followed. In the main, the terms were as follows: Spain and the islands of the western Mediterranean were to be ceded to Rome; Carthage was to pay a war indemnity; Numidia — the kingdom west of Carthage — was to belong to Massinissa, who had aided Rome in the African war; Carthage was to destroy the larger

*Livy,
xxx. 20*

*Livy,
xxx. 32*

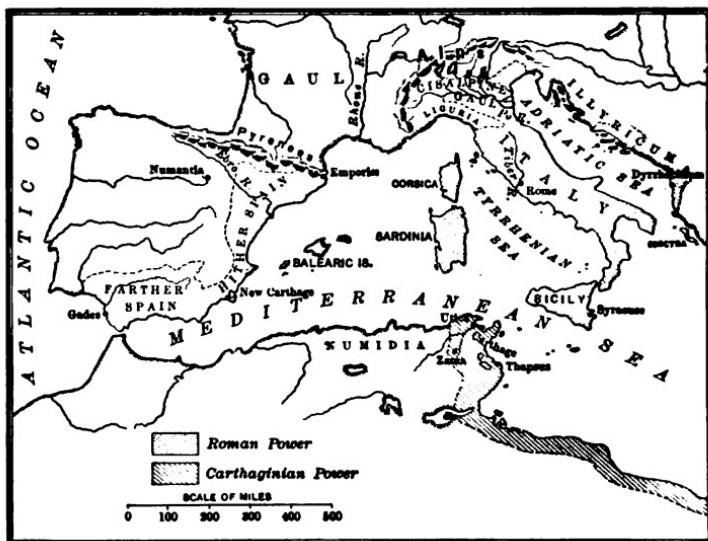
part of her fleet, and henceforth to be subject to Rome in all her foreign relations.

The results of the war were twofold. Beyond Italy, Rome was now mistress of the entire western Mediterranean, with four provinces—Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, Hither Spain, and Farther Spain. In Africa, Carthage and Numidia were completely under the power of Rome. ^{301. Results of the war} Rome had also advanced to the position of arbiter in the affairs of the entire Mediterranean basin.

Though outside Italy the war resulted in the glory of the Roman name, in Italy its effects were wholly bad. Fifteen years of campaigning ruined thousands of Italian farmers, and the prosperity of Italian agriculture was forever gone. Then, too, the revolt of so many allies, and the subsequent punishments, destroyed the good feeling which had previously existed between Rome and the dependent communities. From a position of comparative independence and equality many of the allies had sunk to a position of absolute dependence, to a position where Rome regarded them as subjects, almost as slaves.

The second Punic war lasted seventeen years. It began when Hannibal took Saguntum (219 B.C.); it ended with the battle of Zama (202 B.C.). In the first years, Hannibal rapidly ^{302. Summary} overran Italy, defeating the Romans successively at Trebia, Trasimenus, and Cannæ. After Cannæ, Hannibal seemed about to realize his hopes, but one by one his sources of aid failed him; while Rome, on the other hand, found new strength, first in Fabius and Marcellus, and then in the younger Scipio, later called Scipio Africanus. First the Romans quelled the revolt in Sicily, and then took Capua, the center of the revolt in Italy. In Spain, Hasdrubal was held in check by Publius and Gnaeus Scipio; and after they died, by the younger Publius Scipio. In 208 B.C., Hasdrubal

eluded Scipio and crossed the mountains into Italy, only to be defeated by Livius and Nero at the river Metaurus. For four years more Hannibal maintained himself in Bruttium, then he was recalled by the Carthaginian senate, to oppose Scipio's forces in Africa. At Zama, Hannibal was defeated, and Scipio earned the title Africanus. Then followed the peace, by which Rome gained control of the entire western Mediterranean, and became the arbiter of the entire Mediterranean basin. Henceforth, the history of Rome is the history of the ancient world.



ROME AND CARTHAGE IN 201 B.C.

TOPICS

Suggestive
topics

- (1) Was there anything in the past conduct of Rome to justify Hannibal's action in taking Saguntum? (2) From a study of the maps and the text, to what do you think Hannibal owed his success?
- (3) Why did not Hannibal march directly on Rome after Cannæ?
- (4) How could a great city like Syracuse keep itself supplied for a siege of two years? (5) Show all the causes which contributed to

Hannibal's failure to conquer Italy. (6) Were Rome's gains in the second Punic war greater than her losses? (7) To what later trouble do you think Hannibal's occupation of Italy led? (8) If Carthage had conquered Rome, how would the world's history have been different?

(9) Look up the history of Carthage from 241 B.C. to 220 B.C. in one of the histories mentioned below. (10) Description of a cohort. (11) Hannibal's crossing of the Alps. (12) Why were the Romans beaten at Lake Trasimenus? (13) Battle of the Metaurus. (14) Battle of Cannæ. (15) Hannibal's winter at Capua.

Search topics

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Illustrative works

CHAPTER XXIV.

HELLAS FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER TO THE ROMAN CONQUEST

WE have now seen how the Roman state grew from a village on the banks of the Tiber to an empire comprising the entire western Mediterranean world. Let us return, for the time, 323 to the history of the Macedonian empire after the death ³²³ of Alexander. The unexpected death of the great Macedonian was especially unfortunate, because there was no one great enough to assume control of his enormous empire. Alexander left no direct heirs, and in the army, though there were a score of men whose capabilities fitted them to govern, there was none who could assume supreme control. Hence the empire at once became the prey of numerous scheming and unscrupulous men. For the moment, a compromise was effected: by an agreement entered into among the generals, the crown of the dead king was bestowed upon the imbecile Philip Arrhidæus, a half brother of Alexander, subject to the superior claims of a male heir, should such be born to Roxana, wife of Alexander.

Meanwhile, the government was apportioned among the real rulers of the empire, the generals of the army. To Perdiccas was given the title and authority of regent and guardian of the prospective heir. To the others, as governors, were assigned the various provinces; and to each of them was allotted a portion of the army, which he should absolutely control. Thus, at the very beginning, the organization of Alexander was disregarded. Instead of provinces in which civil and military authority were skillfully divided, the old Persian system of

satrapies was revived, with this difference, however: among the satraps there had never been a man, with the exception of Cyrus (p. 185), who had dared to aspire to central authority; among the lieutenants of Alexander, almost every one hoped in time to gather to himself the supreme control of the empire.

The politics of Greece in this epoch once more deserve attention. When Alexander set out for the east, he left Antipater in Macedonia and Greece as regent. Scarcely was his back turned on Europe when disastrous intrigues began once more. Emboldened by the absence of the king, Sparta actually tried to wrest the Peloponnesus from the hands of Antipater; but the attempt failed. So lightly did Alexander regard this matter, that when news of the insurrection reached him in Asia, he exclaimed, "Macedonians, while we were conquering Darius out here, there seems to have been some battle of the mice in Arcadia."

Demosthenes, of course, was still violently opposed to the rule of the Macedonian, and did all in his power to keep the fires of opposition burning brightly in Athens. In his zeal, he did not scruple even to accept bribes from Alexander's disgraced treasurer, who appeared in Athens in 324 b.c. to stir up trouble for his former master. The Athenians, however, refused to be parties to the acts of Demosthenes, and in the same year he was driven into exile.

The next summer, when the news of Alexander's death reached Greece, revolts instantly broke out. Several of the cities, led by Athens, entered into a confederation and raised an army for the purpose of expelling Antipater. At first, Antipater was forced to fall back into the town of Lamia in Thessaly, where he intrenched himself and stood a vigorous siege. Success seemed about to crown the hopes of the Greeks. All Athens was jubilant; Demosthenes, who had aided in stirring up the Peloponnesus to revolt, was recalled and entered the city in triumph.

304. Political conditions in Greece (324-322 B.C.)

*Plutarch,
Agesilaus*

305. The Lamian war

The rejoicing was short-lived. In resisting a sortie, Leosthenes, the Greek commander, was killed; reinforcements soon came to the assistance of Antipater; the siege was raised, and the Greek states, one by one, were forced to sue for peace. Athens, as the leader in the revolt, was severely punished. Antipater demanded that the orators who had stirred up the trouble should be delivered up for punishment; that the constitution should be so revised as to exclude from the franchise the lower classes, upon whom the orators depended largely for support; and finally, that the city should receive a Macedonian garrison. To escape the wrath of Antipater, the orators fled from the city, but in vain: they were hunted out, and either killed or forced to commit suicide. Among the others, Demosthenes perished in the Peloponnesus.

In the east, affairs were again approaching a crisis. Perdiccas, the regent, was killed by his own troops in 321 B.C., and a

306. Alexander's empire to 302 B.C. new arrangement of imperial affairs became necessary. Antipater was made regent, Philip Arrhidæus and the infant son of Alexander were given into his hands, and another division of the spoils was made among the generals. Once more provinces were distributed, ancient kingdoms were divided and reorganized, and human beings were moved about like pawns upon a chessboard. That anything permanent could come of this division was scarcely to be expected; indeed, the very men who were parties to the reorganization felt that whenever opportunities for aggrandizement offered, a new struggle would surely follow.

To trace the open fights, the secret intrigues, the marriages, the murders, the bargaining and trading, of the next ten or twenty years would serve no purpose. During those years, Antigonus emerged as the leading statesman among the generals. Supported by his son Demetrius, he hoped ultimately to make himself the supreme ruler in the empire. In his schemes, he was opposed by four others: Ptolemy, ruler of

Egypt; Lysimachus, ruler of Thrace and northern Asia Minor; Cassander, ruler of Macedonia and Greece; and Seleucus, who aspired to rule in Asia Minor and the east.



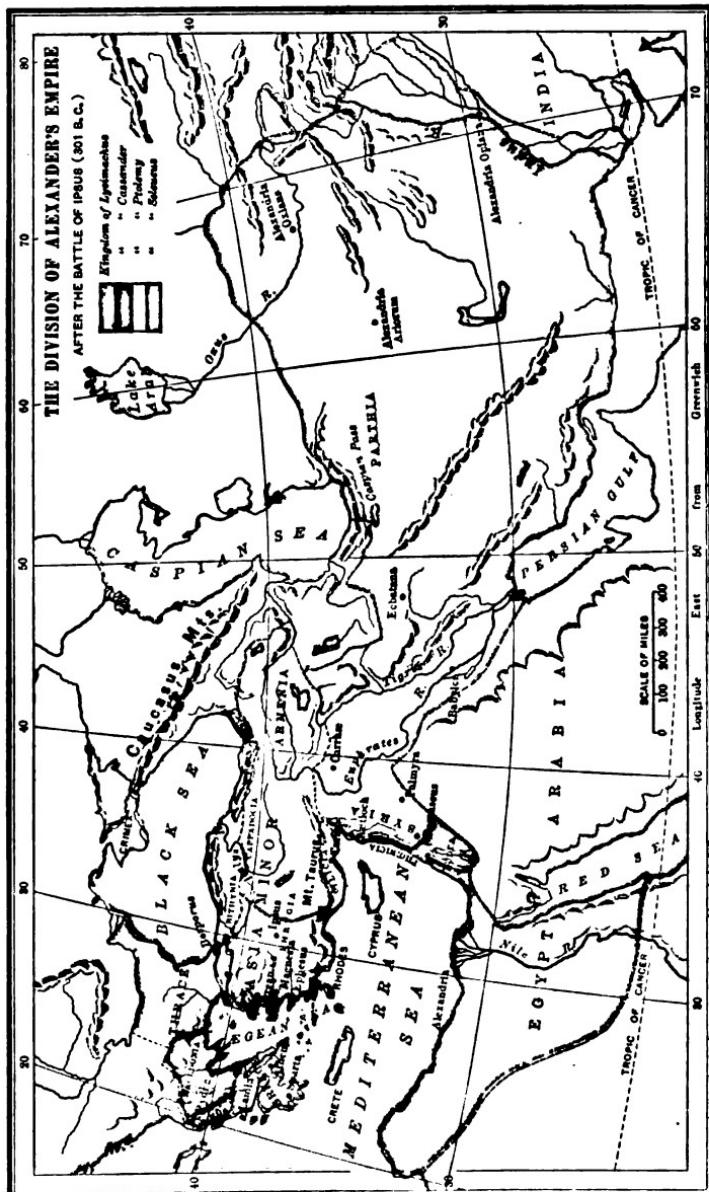
In 302 b.c., the final struggle began. Antigonus and Demetrius were caught unprepared; and Ptolemy, Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus combined and declared war. (301 B.C.) Meanwhile the young son of the conqueror had been killed; no heir any

307. Final division of the empire

longer existed, and consequently the result of this war would probably be the final division of the empire.

The hostile forces met at Ipsus, in Phrygia. Antigonus and Demetrius were defeated, and the empire was divided among the four conquerors (map, p. 300). Ptolemy, who had held Egypt since 323 b.c., was confirmed in his kingdom; Cassander was to become king in Macedonia and Greece; Lysimachus, in Thrace and Asia Minor; and Seleucus, in Syria and the provinces of the east. This was the final division of the empire; henceforth, for a century and a half, ancient history in the east runs its course along the lines marked out after the battle of Ipsus. Of the kingdoms, three were permanent establishments; the realm of Lysimachus alone went to pieces, owing to an invasion of Gallic tribes who made their way across the mountains from central Europe and devastated Thrace and Asia Minor. Thrace relapsed into a state of semi-barbarism, and Asia Minor was divided into a number of small kingdoms and republics, remotely dependent upon the kings of Syria and the east. The further political history of the Hellenic kingdoms offers but little interest; for the next century or more, they continued as separate entities; and then the hand of the universal conqueror, Rome, was laid upon them.

If this century and a half was a period of comparatively



little significance politically, its importance in the history of civilization can scarcely be exaggerated. For six or eight centuries the Greeks had been developing their civilization within the narrow bounds of Hellas: now the descendants of those who fought in the armies of Alexander and his successors were spreading that civilization throughout the east; Hellas was educating the world.

308. Dissemination of Hellenic culture

In Greece proper, the ancient culture continued to develop under the leadership of Athens, as of old. Art, and especially literature, continued to flourish with little diminished power. In Macedon and Thrace, conditions were such that Greek culture could have but little permanent effect, for the people clung to their ancient habits of life with such tenacity that great progress was impossible. In western Asia and Egypt, however, the effect of Hellenic culture was most profound.

In the kingdom of Seleucus, the introduction of Hellenic culture had most far-reaching results, because the population

309. The new cities of Asia

was such as to make the kingdom of the most conglomerate sort. Persian and Greek, Jew and Macedonian, Phœnician and Gaul, here met on common ground. The



COIN OF SELEUCUS.

eastern provinces, bordering on India, soon lost their political connection with the provinces of the west; but trade relations with the east were still continued, and as a result civilization gained.

In such a kingdom, political organization was, of necessity, very loose. Most of the cities owed to the king only a nominal allegiance, and therefore were free to develop along lines hitherto unknown in Asia. Indeed, it is these cities which are the glory of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ. Stretching in a line from the Ægean to the confines of India, Ephesus, Tar-

sus, Antioch, Damascus, Babylon, and a hundred other places studded a route along which flowed much of the activity of the ancient world. Established by Alexander and his successors as centers of trade and military supremacy, they proved to be most potent factors in the spread of Hellenic civilization. Though the majority of the inhabitants were Asiatics, the nucleus of the population was Greek and Macedonian; and from that nucleus the Asiatic learned to know and appreciate the younger civilization.

Furthermore, these cities far surpassed the cities of Greece proper in material resources and comforts. Situated as they were on the great trade routes, drawing their revenues from traders and travelers, they found nothing too costly for their citizens. In the old days, the wealth of a city had been devoted largely to the construction of public works; now, however, men learned to care for their personal comfort before everything else, and consequently the residences of nobles and commoners alike were constructed with a view to making them models of comfort and of artistic beauty. Skilled architects were employed, and everything was done to make the cities attractive. The streets were well paved, imposing colonnades and extensive parks were built for the people, spacious market places were provided for the merchants, and commodious public buildings were constructed. From town to town good roads made communication easy; along the highways, the traveler found decent inns for his entertainment; within the gates, officers for the protection of his rights. In short, western Asia had grown to be a cosmopolitan country under the impetus of those Hellenes who had expatriated themselves to become citizens of the world.

Though the cities of Asia best exemplified the spread of
310. Alex- Greek culture, the queen of all the post-Alexandrine
andria, the new center cities was Alexandria in Egypt. Situated at the mouth
of the world of the Nile, with harbors looking both to the east and to

the west, it speedily took the place of Tyre and Sidon. In its harbor and in its markets the trader from the remote east met and bargained with the merchant from the equally remote west. Here the tin and silver of Spain, the amber and furs of the Baltic, were exchanged for the gems and drugs of India and the silks and spices of China. Wealth rolled in and civilization flourished.



ALEXANDRIA.

The city likewise became the seat of the most advanced learning. Scholars and literary men flocked thither and were maintained at the king's expense. These men of learning, living together in the Museum, a series of buildings which corresponded roughly to one of our modern universities, pursued their studies and contributed much to the world's knowledge, in literature, in the arts, and especially in science. Furthermore, the kings established at Alexandria a library on whose shelves were deposited, so it was said, a copy of every work which had ever been written by any Greek.

From the east, let us turn once more to Greece. The political destinies of the Greeks were now led, not by Athens and Sparta, but by two leagues composed of peoples hitherto unimportant in Greek affairs. In central Greece, ^{311. The} ^{*Aetolian*} ^{*and Achæan*} ^{*leagues*} the *Aetolians*, a fierce people of the western mountains, had gradually organized themselves into a confederation for protection and for aggrandizement. Of the history of this league we know little; one fact only is certain: at one time or another it embraced most of the cities of central Greece, and even many of the cities in the islands of the *Ægean*.

Of the other league, we have more definite information. In

earliest times there had existed among the cities of Achaia a religious union; about 284 B.C. this league was revived, and in course of time a definite political constitution was developed. Each city was entitled to a representative at a general council which met twice a year. In the interval between the meetings the affairs of the league were intrusted to a board of magistrates with a president-general at its head. For almost forty years the league played but little part in the politics of the land; then suddenly, under the leadership of Aratus of Sicyon, it assumed a most important role.

Down to the middle of the third century, Sicyon had been in the hands of tyrants. In 251 B.C., Aratus, by a bold stroke,

312. Aratus, president of the Achæan League (245-221 B.C.)

Polybius, iv. 8

drove the tyrants forth and set up a liberal government. A year or two later, he persuaded his fellow-citizens to join the Achæan League, and by 245 B.C. he was the leading spirit in the confederation. Of Aratus, Polybius, the historian of this period, says: "He had many of the qualities of a great ruler. He could speak, and contrive, and conceal his purposes: no one surpassed him in the moderation which he showed in political contests, or in his power of attaching friends and gaining allies: in intrigue, stratagem, and laying plots against a foe, he was preëminent. . . . On the other hand, whenever he attempted a campaign in the field, he was slow in conception and timid in execution and without personal gallantry in the presence of danger." Under Aratus, the league prospered. Within a few years, Corinth, Megara, and most of the cities of the Peloponnesus were brought within the union; only Sparta held aloof.

In Sparta, important political changes were taking place.

313. Revolution in Sparta

Plutarch, Agis "When the love of gold and silver had once gained admittance into Lacedæmon," says Plutarch, "it was quickly followed by avarice and baseness of spirit, and by luxury, effeminacy, and prodigality in the use of wealth. Then Sparta fell from her former virtue and repute, and so remained

till the coming of Agis." This king Agis, who ascended the throne in 244 b.c., proposed to the Spartans wholesale reforms: especially the redistribution of wealth, and the reënforcement of the constitution, which had long since fallen into disuse. Against these propositions, the wealthy Spartans rose as one man, and in 240 b.c. Agis was put to death. Some fifteen years later, however, Cleomenes, who had married the widow of Agis, succeeded in carrying out the reforms which Agis had designed.

With the rejuvenated Spartan state to support him, Cleomenes now proposed to make Sparta once more the leading city in the Peloponnesus. Against his schemes, Aratus arrayed himself with all his might. Once and again, Cleomenes overcame the opposition of Aratus, till nothing remained for the Sicyonian but to appeal to the king of Macedonia. The king, Philip V., was most willing to interfere; with a strong army he marched into the Peloponnesus, and in 221 b.c. completely defeated Cleomenes at Sellasia. Beaten in battle, Cleomenes fled to Egypt, where he finally died, lamenting the fate of his country.

Again, the Macedonian was supreme south of Thermopylæ. In every part of Greece, evidences of extreme political decay were to be seen. Athens had long since ceased to play any part in politics, Sparta was again crushed, and though the Ætolian League was still powerful, its influence also had begun to wane. Throughout the land, all eyes were turned to the west, where Rome was steadily looming larger and larger on the horizon.

Briefly, the century after the death of Alexander is marked by the following events. In the first place, the empire which Alexander had built was completely disrupted in the course of fifty years. Out of it grew three or four less important kingdoms. In these kingdoms, especially in Syria,

314. War
between
Cleomenes
and Aratus

315. Sum-
mary

and in Egypt at Alexandria, Hellenism traveled on to a much wider and more cosmopolitan civilization. In Greece, the people gradually rallied to a new independence under the leadership of the Ætolian and Achæan leagues. In the Peloponnesus, the influence of the Achæan League was destroyed in the struggle between Cleomenes and Aratus, and Aratus was compelled to call in the help of Macedonia. The Macedonians settled the quarrel by defeating Cleomenes, but they demanded a reward for their work, and Greece once more bowed to the master.

TOPICS

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| Suggestive topics | (1) Did the final results of Alexander's conquests justify the loss of life caused by his wars? (2) Was the Macedonian conquest a good thing for the Greeks and for the civilization of the world? (3) Do you think that Greek culture would have spread into the East without the Macedonians? (4) In what did most of the Greek political leagues originate? (5) Compare the principles of the Achæan League with those of the Delian Confederacy. (6) Compare the Achæan League with the Confederation in the early history of this country. (7) What does the conflict between Aratus and Cleomenes tell you as to the possibility of the Greeks conquering Persia, had Alexander not come on the scene? (8) Were the terms of Antipater too severe on Athens? |
| Search topics | (9) Gallic invasion into the East. (10) The Maccabees in Judea. (11) The Greek kingdom in Egypt. (12) Greek as the world language after Alexander. (13) The magnificence of Antioch. (14) The library of Alexandria. (15) A list of members of the Achæan League. |

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| Sources | Plutarch, <i>Lives</i> , Eumenes, Demetrius, Pyrrhus, Aratus, Agis, Cleomenes, Philopœmen; Polybius, bks. i.-v. passim; Diodorus, bks. xviii.-xxii.; Justin, <i>History</i> , bks. xlii.-xliii. |
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CHAPTER XXV.

GREEK SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE FROM 400 TO 200 B.C.

44 - o 4

A REVIEW of the causes, events, and results of the Peloponnesian war will show that the end of the struggle inaugurated a distinct change in Greek political life: Athens had lost her supremacy; and the hope of a Greece united from within soon passed away forever (pp. 180, 192). The change in the social and intellectual ideals of the race is no less marked. In Athens, as elsewhere, men no longer found their chief occupation in affairs of state; private life and personal affairs began now to assume a new importance. Orators might inveigh against the indifference of the people, but the passionate interest in public affairs was gone.

The effect was noticeable in all walks of life. Artists no longer devoted their talents exclusively to the erection and adornment of temples and other public buildings; private individuals now claimed their share of the artists' time, and hence the ideals in art changed from the heroic productions of the age of Phidias to the more dramatic and sometimes grotesque productions of the later sculptors. No dramatic geniuses like Æschylus, Sophocles, and Aristophanes any longer wrote tragedies and comedies for public festivals; instead of poetry, prose became the prevailing form of literature. Finally, the comfort of the individual became more important; the state and its needs were degraded to a secondary position. That this is true is proved by the universal custom of employing mercenaries in place of the former citizen militia. Business, and private affairs generally, were too important to be left to shift for themselves while the citizen was serving in the army.

During the fourth century B.C., Athens was still the leader of Greek social, intellectual, and artistic life. Even in the following century, the sentiment of the race tended to idealize everything that Athens did, though the city had ceased to be the only center of culture. Among the other centers, Alexandria stood supreme; socially it differed much from the Athens we have learned to know, because within its limits all races met, and might fraternize on terms of equality. Within the city gathered merchants from every land; in its streets, Greek philosopher and scientist brushed robes with Jewish savant and Egyptian priest.

In the cities of Asia Minor and Syria, much the same conditions existed. Antioch became the richest, the proudest, and the most voluptuous of all Hellenic cities; there, as elsewhere, the races coalesced, and a cosmopolitan civilization was the result.

Intellectually, the Greeks had also changed. The drama, except for a new school of comedy, had died out, and nothing had come to take its place. The new comedy, to judge

317. The new literature from the few fragments which have come down to us, was no longer like the fierce satiric comedies of Aristophanes;

it had ceased entirely to deal with politics, and now confined itself entirely to pictures of men in private life. In character, therefore, it approaches much more nearly to our modern drama: the characters are no longer the men who meet and debate upon public affairs in the market places, but the people in their daily walks of life.

Of all the poets of this school, Menander, who flourished in the last half of the fourth century B.C., is the most famous, and even he is only a name to us. None of his comedies have been preserved in their entirety, and whatever criticisms are made upon his works are based, not upon the originals, but upon Roman adaptations.

Other poetry of the highest merit there was none. In prose,

however, the century was prolific: history, oratory, philosophy, and science each has its great representatives.

Xenophon, the greatest historian of the age, is a not unworthy successor of Thucydides. Born sometime about the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, he reached his maturity when Socrates was lecturing to the youth of Athens. Xenophon was a faithful follower of Socrates, and when his master was put to death, he left Athens and joined the expedition which Cyrus had organized for the purpose of dethroning the Persian king Artaxerxes.

**318. The
historian
Xenophon**

In the retreat of the Greeks from Cunaxa, Xenophon was the moving spirit. Returning to Greece in the beginning of the fourth century b.c., he attached himself to the party of the Spartan oligarchs, and lived almost all the rest of his life in leisure on an estate in Elis, which he had received through the bounty of the Spartan government.

Of his writings, three works deserve special attention. In

the *Memorabilia*, he sets forth his idea of the life and doctrines of his former teacher, Socrates. The work is interesting, because it gives us a picture of the famous philosopher as a man of the world saw him. Of more direct interest to the student of history are two other works, the *Anabasis* and the *Hellenica*. The first, an account of the expedition of Cyrus and the retreat of the ten thousand, is probably the most universally read of all the Greek prose classics. Its style is simple, and the story interesting. The latter, the history of



MENANDER.

Vatican, Rome.

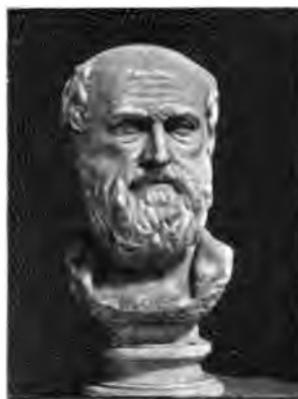
Greece from 410 B.C. to the battle of Mantinea (362 B.C.), is evidently intended as a continuation of the history of Thucydides. Though by no means a masterpiece like its model, though marred by occasional prejudice and narrowness of view, the work has an immense value as the only contemporary source for the history of the Spartan and Theban supremacies.

Besides these three works, Xenophon was the author of a number of political, social, and economic essays, in which, as in everything else that he wrote, the predominating characteristic is the sound common sense and practical, everyday wisdom of the man.

In the days of Philip and Alexander, Greece continued to produce at least one historian for each epoch; unfortunately, the works of these men have been lost, and all that we know of them is what can be gathered from the histories of later authorities like Diodorus and Appian, and from the biographies of Plutarch.

From the time when the Ecclesia became the chief political body in

**319. The
orator
Lysias** Athens; and the popular orator supreme court, the highest tribunal in the state, no citizen's education was complete till he had learned to use his tongue readily and efficiently in public debate. Curiously enough, none of the orations of Pericles, Cleon, or Alcibiades are extant; either they spoke extemporaneously, or their written orations have been lost. It was not till Athens had passed the period of her greatest glory that she produced her greatest orators.



LYSIAS.

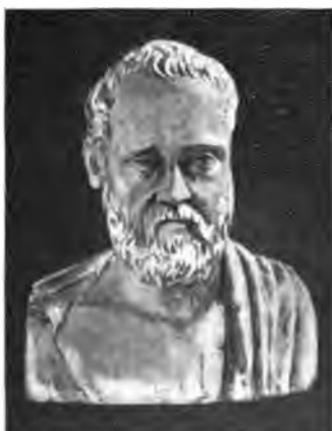
National Museum, Naples.

The first of the great orators was Lysias. Born about the middle of the fifth century B.C., of foreign parents, he was therefore denied the privilege of Athenian citizenship. Nevertheless, he resolved to pursue a profession somewhat akin to that of a modern lawyer.

Important cases were tried, as we have seen, before the popular courts. Since the law was simple, the juries could interpret it without danger of doing grave injustice to either plaintiff or defendant. For the same reason, parties to the suit could plead their own cases without difficulty. Indeed, the law allowed no third party like our modern lawyers to intervene. Still, in course of time, it became the common practice to employ professional speech writers to draw up what we should now call the address to the jury. In the writing of such speeches, Lysias attained a great reputation, and even to-day his addresses are models of court-room oratory.

In every case, his aim seems to have been to tell a simple, straightforward story, to impress his audience with his sincerity and honesty, to throw the blame of pettifogging upon his adversary. Like our own Lincoln, he won his cases not by abstruse reasoning, but by the irresistible logic of a plain, practical man.

Another of the great orators of the fourth century B.C. was Isocrates. Born in 436 B.C., he lived to see Athens fall from her position as mistress of the *Ægean*, to see Sparta gain and lose her empire, to watch the rapid rise and fall of Thebes, to follow the fortunes of Philip down to the battle of Chæronea. Though he is



ISOCRATES.

Villa Albani, Rome.

320. Isoc-
rates

classed among the orators, he might much better be called a political essay writer. His orations were intended for private reading rather than for public delivery. His style is very much more polished than that of Lysias, his art very much more evident.

For the last fifty years of his life, Isocrates devoted all his talents toward the unification of Greece. In his *Panegyric*, written about 380 b.c., he urged the Greeks to unite under the leadership of Athens in an effort to wrest Asia from the decaying Persian power. Twenty or thirty years later, he reluctantly abandoned his dream of a united Greece and turned to the conquering Macedonian as the one who was to fulfill his hopes of an Hellenic empire in the east. In 346 b.c. he addressed an elaborate letter to Philip, exhorting him to put himself at the head of the Hellenic world, to lead the Greeks against their ancient enemy, the Persian. Great must have been his joy when in 338 b.c. Philip finally united all Greece under his sway; still, he did not live to see his hopes fulfilled: before the year was out, he died at the advanced age of ninety-eight.

The age of the end of Greek liberty is also the age of the greatest Athenian orators. First among the men who thun-

321. Demos- dered against the advancing fortunes of Philip, as we have
thenes and seen, was Demosthenes (p. 198). Fired with a red-hot ear-
his contem- nestness and an unflinching determination to do all that
poraries he could to injure the cause of Philip, he persisted in his oppo-
sition, till all the ages have rung with his praises as the cham-
pion of liberty. Whether those praises are deserved or not,
there can be but one verdict upon his power as an orator: in
all ages he stands preëminent; no other man has ever been
able to rival his achievements. Contemporary with Demos-
thene were many other orators, whose ability, in any other
time, would have won them unending renown. Of them all,
Æschines, the political rival of Demosthenes, was the greatest.

Pitted against any other antagonist, Æschines would certainly have won the fight; but his endeavor to secure the downfall of Demosthenes ended in his own ruin, and he was forced to flee from Athens, and to spend his last days in exile in the cities of Asia Minor and the east.

In philosophy, the era which we are now considering opens with the most brilliant writer in all antiquity — Plato. Born in Athens in 427 B.C., of a family which traced its pedigree back to some of the most illustrious names in Athenian history, he had an early training such as few, even the most cultivated youths of the day, received. At twenty he attached himself to Socrates and became his most devoted disciple. When Socrates suffered death, Plato left Athens, and for some ten years traveled about from Sicily in the west to Egypt in the east. In 389 B.C. he settled down once more in Athens, and from that day to his death, in 347 B.C., he taught philosophy, with scarcely a single interruption.

322. The
philosopher
Plato (427-
347 B.C.)



PLATO.

Of his doctrines and ideas of human life and human society, it is impossible to give an adequate idea in a book so brief as this. His works were written in the form of dialogues, in which the characters discuss all manner of subjects, human and divine. One idea underlies all his philosophy: the essential unreality of the material world and the permanency of divine ideals. His ideal form of government, as set forth in *The Republic*, is interesting, but quite beyond human attainment.

The most renowned pupil and the intellectual successor of Plato was Aristotle, the tutor of Alexander the Great. Though

323. Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) not a born Athenian, he spent many years of his life in that city, teaching and writing on philosophical subjects. Although a pupil of Plato, his philosophy differs widely from that of his master; for, above all things, Aristotle was practical, while Plato was often a poetical dreamer.

In the course of his life, Aristotle's mind embraced all subjects of human thought: pure philosophy, logic, ethics, politics, and natural history; and when he died, "so all-embracing, so systematic, so absolutely complete did his philosophy appear, that he seemed to after generations to have left nothing more to discover. He at once attained a supremacy which *Marshall, Greek Philosophy, ch. xviii.* lasted for some two thousand years, not only over the Greek-speaking world, but over every form of civilization of that long period. . . . His authority was accepted equally by the learned doctors of Moorish Cordova and the Fathers of the Church; to know Aristotle was to have all knowledge; not to know him was to be a boor; to deny him was to be a heretic."

Greek philosophy reached its height with Plato and Aristotle; nevertheless, in the following century, there are two **324. Later philosophy** schools of philosophers which deserve a passing word. The first was the school of Stoicks, who taught as their ideal that the outward life of man is the least part of his existence, and should therefore be disregarded; temperance



"ARISTOTLE."

Palazzo Spada, Rome.

and self-denial, they said, are the only true means of attaining happiness and contentment. The second school was that of the Epicureans, who believed that the ultimate end of human existence is the pursuit of pleasure. They taught, however, that pleasure is by no means always the attainment of some immediate desire, for too often the man who gives way to present wants is sure of pain and disappointment in the end; that the true philosopher seeks only such pleasure as will lead to ultimate and complete happiness.

In the third century B.C., one other branch of human knowledge was diligently cultivated. In Athens, "the humanities"—art, literature, and the study of the human mind—had attracted men till the time of Aristotle; in Alexandria, men began to investigate the phenomena of the physical world and the laws which govern human understanding. Under such men as Euclid and Eratosthenes, geometry, geography, and astronomy were more and more elaborated; under others, the knowledge of the origin and development of human speech

325. The
study of
science

first attained to the dignity of an exact science. Science for the first time in Greek history became a distinct branch of human knowledge; and seventeen centuries later men began where the Greeks left off.

In art, as in literature, it is the life of the individual, and no longer the life of the state, 326. Greek

that the artist is interested in. Instead of the grand art from 400 to 200 and almost forbidding statues of gods like Zeus and B.C. Athene, which Phidias and his associates had created, the sculptors now devoted their talents to the creation of images of the more nearly human gods, such as Aphrodite (Venus) and Hermes, and the statues of kings and rulers in the land.



HERMES OF PRAXITELES.

Museum, Olympia.

First among the artists of the period following the Peloponnesian war was Scopas. Of his works, only the tradition has come down to us; still, from the descriptions of those who were fortunate enough to see them, we know that they must have been very beautiful. Contemporary with Scopas was Praxiteles, whose most famous work was the statue of Aphrodite of Cnidus, which has now been lost, but which in ancient times men traveled from all parts of the world to see. Other works of his are still preserved; most notably, the statue of the faun which is now in the Capitoline Museum at Rome, and about which Hawthorne has woven his story of *The Marble Faun*; and the magnificent Hermes and infant Dionysus (p. 315), which were found in the ruins of Olympia. Both works show a tenderness and a love for the purely human in life which were foreign to the works of the previous century, and which have been the envy of artists in all succeeding ages.



FAUN OR SATYR OF
PRAXITELES.

Capitoline Museum,
Rome; known as
the Marble Faun.

successful was he in this work that his fame

is still great after the lapse of so many hundred years.

In the next century (300–200 b.c.), the center of artistic life moved from Greece proper to the Hellenic cities of Asia Minor and to Rhodes. To this age belong the Winged Victory of Samothrace, the Venus of Melos, the Colossus of Rhodes, the Laocoön, and many other works of equal merit. Of few of these works do we know the author, yet their merit has kept them among the greatest of man's handiwork in all the ages.

The fourth and third centuries B.C., then, are famous in the first place for the change in spirit among the Hellenes. Interest in public life has given

^{327.} Summary

way to interest in private affairs, and that has affected the social life of the people, especially in the cities of the east. In literature, prose has become the dominant form of composition, with history, oratory, philosophy, and science as the subjects of the great-



VICTORY OF SAMOTHRACE.

From island of Samothrace;
now in the Louvre, Paris.

est interest. In art, too, it is the more human subjects which now attract men; instead of gods like Zeus and Athene, the sculptors choose their subjects among the more personal gods like Aphrodite and Hermes, and from among the children of men. In short, the age is far less classic, but much more human than that which preceded it, and consequently much more interesting to the modern man.



LAOCOÖN GROUP.

Vatican, Rome. Laocoön, a priest of Troy, having offended Apollo, was with his two sons attacked and slain by serpents.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) How do you account for the changes in the social life of the Greeks? (2) What caused the decay of the drama? (3) Is it an advantage for a state to have supreme legislative power over foreign and domestic matters in the hands of a popular assembly, or its judicial matters in the hands of a popular supreme court? Give your reasons. (4) Did the Greeks themselves realize the impossibility of Greek unity? (5) Who were the Greek historians before Xenophon, and what works did they write? (6) Is there any connection between the decline of Greek power and the employment of mercenary troops? (7) Who was Socrates? (8) Why was Aristotle so much studied during the Middle Ages? (9) In your own city, can you point out anything which shows a debt to the Greeks?

(10) Compare Plato's *Republic* with More's *Utopia*. (11) Plato's opinions of slavery. (12) What does American civilization owe to the Greeks? (13) Aristotle and Alexander. (14) A Greek lawsuit. (15) Plato's opinion of Socrates.



VENUS OF MELOS.

Discovered in the island of Melos, 1820; now in the Louvre, Paris.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

ROME THE MISTRESS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN BASIN (200-133 B.C.)

"THE peace with Carthage was quickly followed by a war with Macedonia: a war not to be compared to the war with Carthage, either in the danger to the state or in the abilities of the commanders or in the valor of the soldiers, but perhaps more remarkable on account of the renown of the former kings and the ancient fame of that nation." Thus the Roman historian Livy begins his account of the three quarters of a century of war in which Rome advanced her power by the conquest of Macedonia, Greece, and Asia Minor.

Livy,
xxxi. 1

At the end of the second Punic war, when Rome turned her chief attention to the east, the Hellenic world was still divided principally among the three great kingdoms described in Chapter xxiv. Of these, the kingdom of the Seleucidæ in Asia Minor and the east was the largest, but at the same time the least securely organized; several semi-independent states existed within its borders, of which Pergamus and Rhodes were the most important.

328. Rem-
nants of
Alexander's
empire

In striking contrast to the loosely knit empire of the Seleucidæ stood the closely organized kingdom of Egypt. Content from the first to govern this narrow strip of land, the Ptolemies had rarely attempted to extend their dominion beyond the mouth of the Nile, and in consequence they had built up a kingdom which resisted the overwhelming power of Rome longer than any of the other states.

Macedonia had returned to the social and political conditions which existed in the days before Philip and Alexander; the people were still a hardy race, loving war and despising peace, ready at all times for revolution and rebellion. The Greeks were divided by mutual jealousies, and were unwilling subjects of the Macedonian king.

Philip V. was king in Macedonia at the end of the third century B.C. It was he who entered into the agreement with

329. Philip V. at war with Rome Hannibal in 215 B.C. to make war upon Rome. Though Philip never entered Italy, Rome interfered with his affairs in Greece, and this collision is known as the first Macedonian war. Outwardly, Philip had everything which goes to make a man attractive; but beneath the surface he



COIN OF PHILIP V.

concealed qualities which made him one of the most unbearable tyrants. He was cruel to friends and enemies alike; he was careless of his word, ready to break an oath or betray a trust whenever

his momentary interests demanded it; worst of all, he lacked definiteness of purpose, often wasting his time and doing endless injury to his subjects by shilly-shallying in diplomacy and war, when vigor and persistence might easily have won important victories.

The year after the battle of Zama, in 201 B.C., Philip began a war against the states of Asia Minor, relying on an agreement with Antiochus, the descendant of Seleucus and ruler of what we may call the Kingdom of Asia; thereupon Pergamus and Rhodes, to protect themselves, called upon Rome for aid. Rome was reluctant to declare war; for almost a generation the city had known not an instant of peace, and most of the people were anxious that no new contest should be undertaken. Even when Philip refused absolutely to treat with

the Roman ambassadors, the people hesitated, and only when the consul Sulpicius warned them that war with Macedonia must come sooner or later, and that it was better to fight it out in Macedon than in Italy, did the people consent to a new levy of legions which were to serve abroad.

Sulpicius crossed into Greece in 199 B.C., but accomplished nothing. Next year the new consul Flamininus, a man of a new type among the Romans, was sent out. "Of a kind, gentle nature, he worked rather by fair means than by force; of a persuasive address in all his dealings, he was still, above all other things, bent and determined upon justice." To these qualities, he added a sentimentality and a love of the Golden Age that had but little in common with the hard-headed common sense for which the Romans have always been noted. Nevertheless, Flamininus was no mere dreamer: from his ancestors he inherited enough of the fighting blood of his race to make him a skilled and prudent general.

For two years Flamininus fought against Philip. At the end of the first year Philip was ready for peace; but the terms which the Roman Senate offered were not satisfactory, and the war went on. The second year the two armies met in Thessaly, in the rough and broken country near Cynoscephalæ. In the battle which followed, the mobile Roman legion, arranged in open order three ranks deep, proved its superiority over the massive Macedonian phalanx; the Macedonians were defeated, and Philip was forced to flee with the remnant of his army.

Negotiations for peace began at once. The Romans earnestly desired to do justice to all parties concerned in the

ARRANGEMENT OF THE TEN COHORTS IN A LEGION.

war; they demanded from Philip only what they had prescribed at the beginning of the war; namely, that he should

331. Arrangements in Macedonia and Greece leave the Greeks free to pursue their destinies without foreign interference. Neither now nor for some time to come did they have any designs upon the independence of Macedonia.

The Ætolian allies, who had joined Rome in the war with the hope of breaking the Macedonian power forever, were profoundly discontented with the leniency of the terms thus offered. They claimed that Flamininus had promised, in the event of a successful war, that Philip should be severely

Polybius, xviii. 36 punished. "He [Flamininus] was deluded and mistaken," said Alexander, the Ætolian, "if he believed that by making terms with Philip he would secure peace for the Romans or freedom for the Greeks. . . . If he desired to accomplish both the design of his own government and his own promises, there was but one way of making terms with Macedonia, and that was to eject Philip from the throne."

When Flamininus disregarded the protests of the Ætolians,

Polybius, xviii. 45 they went about among the allies, stirring up all manner of trouble. "The Greeks," they declared, "were getting not freedom, but a change of masters."

In spite of all these protests, the Romans dictated the following terms: Philip was to retain his kingdom, engaging only to abstain from all hostile acts toward Rome; he was to relinquish all territory not within the confines of his kingdom; and, in future, he was not to interfere in any way in the affairs of Greece.

The Romans did not appropriate an acre of the territory thus released from Macedonian control. To Flamininus, the triumph over Philip was an opportunity, not for the aggrandizement of Rome, but for restoring Greece to all her former glory. "Visiting all the cities," says Plutarch, "he exhorted them to the practice of obedience

332. Flamininus hopes to reinvigorate Greece

to the law, of constant unity and friendship one toward another. He suppressed their factions and brought home their political exiles; in short, to conquer Macedonia did not seem to give him more lively pleasure than to find himself prevalent in reconciling Greeks with Greeks, so that liberty seemed now the least part of the kindness he conferred upon them." Unfortunately for the dreams of Flamininus and other Romans of his kind, Greece had fallen too low to be capable of regeneration. The feuds and quarrels of centuries

*Plutarch,
Flamininus*



COIN OF ANTIOCHUS.

had not failed to have their effect: Greece was decadent beyond hope of recovery.

The next step in the forward march of Rome led her into Asia. What Rome had ordered Philip to relinquish, Antiochus came forward to seize; still, for the time, Rome contented herself with entering a mild protest against the conduct of the king, till in 192 B.C., at the invitation of the Ætolians, he invaded Greece; then Rome put her armies in motion.

333. War
with Antio-
chus (192-
190 B.C.)

At first, Greece itself was the battleground, but in the second year of the war the forces of Antiochus were defeated at Thermopylæ, and the king was forced to withdraw to Asia Minor. In 190 B.C. a Roman army, led by the consul Lucius Scipio, brother of Publius Scipio Africanus, entered Asia Minor. In the train of the consul was the great Africanus himself, and to him the honor of the ensuing events

is largely due. Late in the year, at Magnesia, the Romans finally encountered the army of Antiochus, an army "checkered with the troops of many nations," as Livy says. The battle soon turned into a rout, and all the Asiatic forces, including the king, fled south, and left the Romans in undisputed possession of Asia Minor. So complete was the discomfiture of Antiochus, that as the historian Appian says, "It became a common saying among men: 'There was a king — Antiochus the Great!'"

The effect of the defeat was immediate: envoys from every Greek city in Asia Minor flocked to the Roman camp and offered the submission of their cities to the Roman arrangements in Asia Minor. Within a month, Antiochus also sent to beg for peace. To his ambassadors, Scipio replied, "We now, as conquerors, offer you the same conditions which we offered to you when on equal footing. . . . Resign all pretensions in Europe, and cede that part of Asia which lies this side of Mount Taurus." To these terms Antiochus gladly agreed.

Still Rome assumed for herself no direct control over the conquered territory: Greece was still to be free so long as she subordinated her foreign politics to those of Rome; in Asia Minor, those states which formerly had been under the nominal sovereignty of Antiochus, now became entirely independent, and joined their fortunes to those of Rome as allies.

For nineteen years after the battle of Magnesia, there was nominal peace throughout the east, but both Macedonians and Greeks were restless and only waited for an opportunity to begin hostilities. Meanwhile Philip V. died, and his son Perseus took his place. In 171 b.c. the storm which had been so long brewing finally broke, and Rome was again forced to send her legions across the Adriatic.

For the first two years, Rome was poorly represented in the field; had Perseus been a vigorous king, he might have

attained considerable success; but he wasted his opportunity, and in 168 B.C. Rome again found a commander worthy of her ancient fame — Lucius Æmilius Paulus, son of the martyr of Cannæ. Paulus was a Roman of the old school, a strict disciplinarian who expected absolute obedience from his troops, but who was willing to share in all the hardships of the campaign, in spite of the fact that he was already an old man. By prosecuting the war with a vigor to which even the Romans had ceased to be accustomed, he soon brought the campaign to an issue at Pydna in Macedonia. In the battle which followed, the Macedonians were once again defeated as they had been defeated at Cynoscephalæ; Perseus fled into Thrace, but he was captured shortly afterward and forced to submit to the Roman terms of peace.

The third Macedonian war and the insurrection of Greece showed the Romans that the Ætolians had been right thirty years before when they contended that the only way to settle affairs in Macedonia and Greece was to depose the Macedonian king. The hard-headed sense of Paulus was now applied where the visionary ideas of Flamininus had failed. Perseus was dethroned and led a captive to Rome, and though a semblance of independence was still left to Macedonia and Greece, though Rome even now did not add an acre to her domain, the governments which were set up were so manifestly the puppets of Rome that even the blindest could no longer be deceived. In Macedonia, four republics were established in place of the old monarchy; in Greece no outward change was made, but thenceforth every city was constantly watched by some powerful and influential Roman. Even in Asia Minor, Pergamus and Rhodes were gradually reduced to a state where political independence was nothing more than a name.

Meanwhile, in the west, the progress of Roman arms had been attended by long and bitter struggles. Ligurians, Gauls,

and Spaniards all fought desperately against the power which was gradually crushing out their independence. Year after year the Roman legions marched out to do battle; only very gradually and at the cost of much blood were the influences of civilization made to tell against the savage instincts of these barbarian tribes. The most celebrated of all the actions in this series of wars was the siege of Numantia,



STORMING A CITY.

a city in Spain which surrendered to Rome (133 B.C.) only after a most stubborn resistance.

Carthage, too, was the source of constant anxiety to the Romans. Since the peace of 201 B.C., the city had steadily increased in wealth and influence till Rome again saw in Carthage

Appian, Punic Wars, z. 69 a menace to her power. Those who visited Carthage "carefully observed the country; they saw how diligently

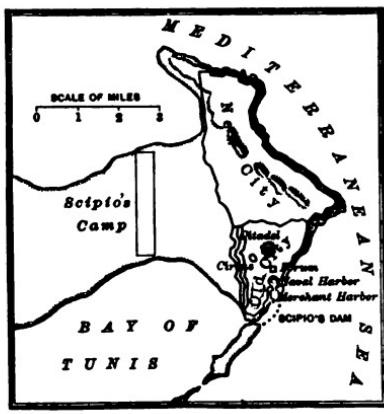
it was cultivated and what great estates it possessed.

They entered the city and saw how greatly it had increased in wealth and population since its overthrow by Scipio not long before. When they returned to Rome, they declared that Carthage was to them an object of apprehension rather

than of jealousy. . . . It is said that Cato from that time continually expressed the opinion in the Senate that Carthage must be destroyed."

After about fifty years of peace, a pretext for war was finally found, and Rome moved on relentlessly toward the destruction of the city. Determined to be forever rid of this rival, Rome finally demanded that the ancient city should be abandoned and that the citizens should move to another site several miles inland. In a frenzy of indignation at this unjust demand, the Carthaginians accepted the issue, and the third Punic war began.

A Roman army landed in Africa in 149 B.C., and assailed the city; but for two years the siege dragged on without result.



CARTHAGE.

338. The
Senate assigned Pub-
lius Cornelius Scipio
to the destruction
of Carthage
(146 B.C.)

Æmilianus, son of the hero of Pydna and adopted grandson of Scipio Africanus, to the army in Africa. If all accounts are true, Scipio was reluctant to undertake the task; but his love of country overcame all other feelings, and he went to Africa deter-

mined to end the suspense. After several months of desperate fighting, his soldiers finally succeeded in scaling the walls, and then began that destruction of the city upon which Cato had set his heart. For days the legionaries rushed madly through the streets, killing, burning, and pillaging, till scarcely a vestige of the city's wealth was left. "At the sight of the city

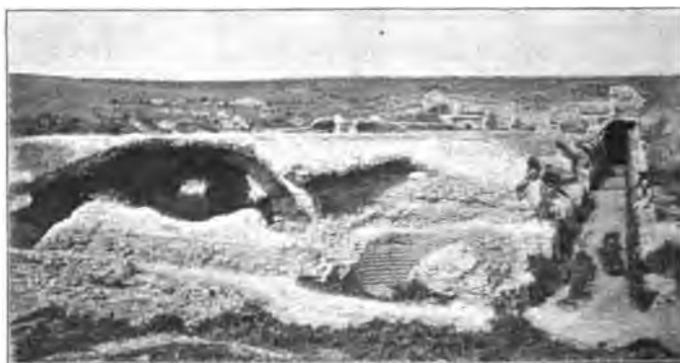
Polybius,
xxxix. 5

utterly perishing amidst the flames, Scipio burst into tears and stood long reflecting on the inevitable change which

awaits cities, nations, and dynasties, one and all, as it does every man. . . . He quoted from Homer:—

‘The day shall come when holy Troy shall fall,
And Priam, lord of spears, and Priam’s folk.’”

Out of the ruins of the Carthaginian possessions, Rome now created the first province that was set up south of the Mediterranean. It was known as the province of Africa; it was bounded on the west by Numidia, and was later extended east as far as Cyrenaica. Numidia was left unmolested; to the lands that Massinissa had won, new lands



RUINS OF CARTHAGE.

were added; but the kingdom was to hold itself in complete subjection to Rome.

Macedonia and Greece were still seething with political discontent; one way and one way only remained for putting an end to the trouble: Rome must assume direct control of all that region. About the middle of the century, an impostor who represented himself to be the son of Perseus appeared in Macedonia and called upon the people to rise and throw off the yoke of Rome. At first the people laughed at his claims; but when he appealed to their patriotism and love of liberty, they flocked to his standard and broke

out into open revolt. The Romans acted promptly; within a year or two the country was swept by an army under Metellus, and all semblance of political independence was forever crushed; the four republics were abolished, and Macedonia, like the lands of Carthage, became a Roman province. Some twenty years before, Illyricum had been placed in the charge of a Roman governor, so that there were now two provinces east of the Adriatic.

The end was near at hand in Greece also. In 147 B.C. the Achæan League, the last representative of the warlike and



CORINTH. (Restoration; Isthmus of Corinth in the distance.)

liberty-loving Greeks of old, declared war upon Rome. The struggle speedily centered about the city of Corinth, and Metellus directed all his energies toward the reduction of that city. He was succeeded in 146 B.C. by the new consul, Mummius, and to him belongs the honor or the odium of finally reducing the city. Without mercy or feeling, he decreed the absolute destruction of the city; and in the days which followed, thousands of men and hundreds of works of art, among the most precious in the world, perished in the flames.

As yet no province was created in Greece. Each city was

dealt with separately: some were placed under the direct control of the governor of Macedonia; others received the honorable position of allies; but nowhere was there any longer the semblance of liberty. Rome alone was mistress in the peninsula.

Thirteen years later, in 133 B.C., upon the death of the last king of Pergamus, western Asia Minor fell to Rome as a royal bequest. This land was immediately organized as the province of Asia, thus adding another to the rapidly growing list of dependencies.

The history of Rome during the sixty-eight years from the end of the second Punic war to the year 133 B.C. is the history of a succession of foreign wars. In the east Macedonia

341. Summary was the first to feel the weight of the Roman arm. First under Philip V., then under Perseus, the land was made to suffer for presuming to oppose the will of Rome; the kingdom ceased to exist after the battle of Pydna in 168 B.C. Some twenty years later, when the land flamed into revolt for the last time, all semblance of independence was swept from the land, and the province of Macedonia was created. Within the same decade, Greece, too, lost her independence and became a part of the Roman dominion.

Farther east, in Asia, Antiochus tried to stem the Roman tide, but he was defeated at Magnesia in 190 B.C. and forced to relinquish his claims upon Asia Minor. In 133 B.C. the western part of the peninsula was bequeathed to Rome by its last king, and became the province of Asia.

In the west, the Romans struggled during this whole period to subdue the barbarian tribes of Liguria, Gaul, and Spain; but even at the end of the period, the work was not entirely accomplished. In Africa, Carthage continued to be a menace to Roman supremacy, till, about the middle of the century, the decree went forth that the city must be destroyed. The accom-

plishment of this task was intrusted to Scipio *Æ*milianus, the adopted grandson of the hero of Zama. In 146 B.C. the city fell, and out of its dominions the province of Africa was erected. Thus, in 133 B.C., Rome was the absolute mistress of the Mediterranean, with eight provinces: Sicily, Corsica and Sardinia, Hither Spain, Farther Spain, Illyricum, Africa, Macedonia, and Asia. On the shores of the sea, there were still several independent or semi-independent states, but none that could hope to cope with the imperial city of Rome.



ROMAN POWER IN 120 B.C.

TOPICS

- (1) Was the second Macedonian war more or less justifiable than the Tarentine and Punic wars? (2) What was the difference between the phalanx and the legion? What were the advantages and disadvantages of each? (3) Compare the treatment of Macedonia with that of Carthage and explain the differences. (4) Judging from the third Macedonian war, what did it mean to be "allies of Rome"? (5) Why did Rome set up republics in Macedonia? What caused her change in policy? (6) Why did Rome destroy Carthage? (7) Why did Rome organize Africa as a province, but make allied states of her conquests in the east? (8) Why did Rome eventually make provinces of almost all of her conquests? (9) Why did Rome destroy Corinth? Which destruction was more justifiable, that of Corinth or that of Carthage?

Suggestive topics

Search
topics

(10) Enumerate the conquests of Rome from 264 to 133 B.C., and show the status of each at the beginning and at the end of this period. (11) What the early Romans thought about the Greeks. (12) Greek opinion of the Romans. (13) The Aetolian League. (14) Life at the court of an eastern king. (15) Remains of ancient Carthage.

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Illustrative
work

G. Flaubert, *Salammbô*.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE INFLUX OF EASTERN MANNERS AND CUSTOMS INTO ROME

IN the old days, before Rome became the mistress of the entire Mediterranean world, the dwellers on the Tiber were noted among men as examples of austerity and sternness far beyond anything that the ancient world had ever known. Love of country and fidelity to the state outweighed all other passions. Time and again the chronicles relate stories of men who without a tremor sacrificed themselves and their children to the welfare of the city. Each generation had its heroes who lived and died for no other purpose than to advance the fortunes of the stern mother whom they all loved so well. To these men, the community was everything, the individual little; and families were great, not because of what they had accomplished for themselves, but because they had contributed to the glory of Rome. "Thus, as one generation after another was laid in the tomb, and each in succession added its fresh contribution to the stock of ancient honors, the collective sense of dignity in the noble families of Rome swelled into that mighty civic pride, the like of which the earth has never seen again."

342. old Roman love of country
Mommsen, bk. iii. ch. 13

In the days after the second Punic war, much of this patriotic feeling was rapidly passing away. A few men still lived who cherished with jealous hearts the old traditions of the city, but too many had already learned to love things that were foreign and wholly unsuited to the Roman character.

*Horace,
Odes, ii. 15*

**343. A type
of the con-
servative
Roman**

Of the poet's "good old school, when each Roman's wealth was little worth, his country's much," Marcus Porcius Cato (234–149 B.C.) is one of the most famous examples. To his life Plutarch devotes one of his biographies, which is really a sermon on the good old times which the Romans of the following centuries so much admired and so little imitated. Hard and severe in the government of his family, simple and austere in his mode of life, Cato devoted his talents and his energies to the single purpose of advancing the fortunes of his mother city. He never ceased to preach against the new education and literature, against the adoption of Greek manners and customs; yet he went down to his grave, conscious that the old era was gone, that a new Rome, tinctured by the civilization of the east, had risen on the site of that old city whose ideals were as narrow as the confines of Italy.

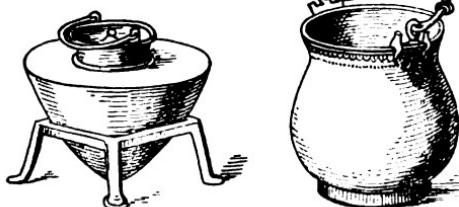
Almost as far back as the history of Rome extends, Greek influences are to be traced in the development of Roman

**344. Early
Greek
influences**

culture. Etruscan merchants, trading beyond the sea, brought to Rome the products of Greek art and man-

ufacture, and thus the Romans learned to know and admire the race which could produce works of art far

beyond the skill of the rude Italian husbandman. From Cumæ and the Greek cities of the south, merchants made their way into the city, and from their



ROMAN VESSELS.

packs emerged ever new sources of wonder and delight to gratify the eyes of the Roman shopper. Still, the nation as a whole was slow to learn; the genius of the people was

intensely conservative and little given to the cultivation of the artistic sense, and more people scorned the handiwork of the Greek than admired it.

For more than a century and a half, the Roman fought his way slowly northward and southward, till, at the beginning of the third century B.C., he was knocking at the gates of the Greek cities. Then, for another century and a half, the arms of the imperial city rapidly subdued land after land till there were none in the Mediterranean basin to dispute her supremacy. In that century and a half, a complete change in the intellectual, moral, and social life of Rome took place. Rome was no longer a city dominated by ancient Roman ideals; in place of the narrow and austere life of ancient days had been substituted a new culture, cosmopolitan as the confines of the ancient world.

The change here noted proceeded but slowly, so long as the Roman armies confined their campaigns to the lands of the west; but from the day when the first Roman legions entered Greece, the change proceeded with mighty strides. As we have seen, Flamininus and the men of his stamp conceived it to be the divinely appointed mission of Rome to rejuvenate and regenerate the ancient land of Greece. The spell of the Greek name was still powerful enough to awe the minds of men less firmly rooted in their faith in the ancient culture of Rome than were Cato and his kind.

Unfortunately, in the century and a half after the death of Alexander, ease, luxury, sensuality, and degrading religious rites had done much to taint the glory of Greek civilization. The Greek of the days of Flamininus was far from being the Greek of the days of Pericles, or even of

345.
Change in
ideals due
to con-
quests



BRONZE PITCHER.

the days of Alexander. Yet it was this latter-day Greek culture which the Roman now adopted with avidity. Within

*Horace,
Epistles,
iii. 1* a few years, says Horace, "Greece, though subdued, transformed her conqueror, planting her arts in Rome."

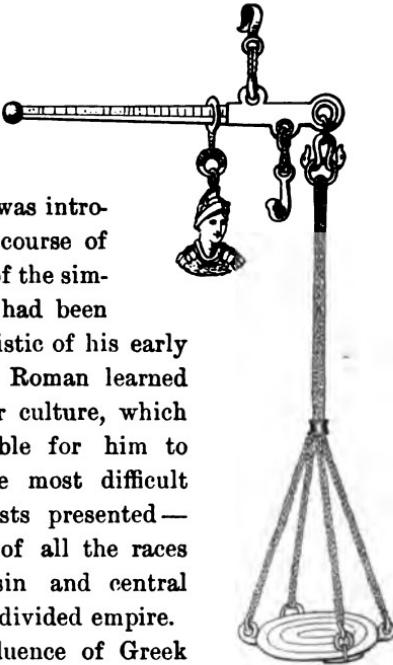
The result of this adoption of Hellenic ideals
346. Good was both good and
and evil evil. Much of the
effects vicious ease, luxury,

and sensuality of the East was introduced into Rome; and in course of time, the Roman lost much of the simplicity and dignity which had been the most striking characteristic of his early history. Nevertheless the Roman learned from the Greek a broader culture, which eventually made it possible for him to cope successfully with the most difficult problem which his conquests presented—the perfect amalgamation of all the races of the Mediterranean basin and central Europe into a single and undivided empire.

In dealing with the influence of Greek civilization upon Rome, we shall discuss the following five subjects: religion, manners and customs, education, literature, art.

In the earliest days, the Romans had worshiped as their gods abstract virtues and the powers of nature: family pride,

347. Changes in Roman religion wisdom, constancy, the heat of summer which ripens the crops, the winds which bring the fresh, cool air, and the storms which destroy the works of men. Very early, however, this simple religion lost its freshness and its comparative purity; gloomy superstitions, tiresome ritualism, and



SCALES.

an obscuring system of theology were introduced from Etruria, till irreligion and positive unbelief crept in to undermine the ancient faith.

Under such conditions, the adoption of new forms and even new gods was easy ; deities which originally had been mere abstractions were soon identified with the gods of Greece : Mars, who brought victory in war, with Ares ; Jupiter or Jove, the presiding genius of the state, with Zeus ; Minerva, who caused the grain to ripen in the field, with Athene ; and Venus, the goddess of the garden, with Aphrodite ; all the wealth of Greek mythology was accepted without change.

Had the process stopped here, Rome might not have been much worse off than in the beginning, but the seekers after new gods were not content with the comparatively pure religious conceptions of the Greeks ; they went further and brought home to Rome such gods of the Orient as Cybele, the goddess of creative force, and Bacchus, the god of wine ; and with these deities came practices so vicious that even the ancient Romans hesitate to describe them. Henceforth religion, to many of the citizens, became an excuse for the vilest and most unmentionable sins. Many men still adhered tenaciously to the ancient faith, many Romans were still as pure as in the olden days, but the evil practices of the few affected the morals of the whole city, and in course of time Rome sank to the level of Antioch and Alexandria.

The daily life of the people felt most strongly the influence of the east. In the old days, every citizen had been content to live simply, tilling his fields, governing his family, indulging in the most innocent pleasures : industry and frugality were the two highest virtues ; indolence and intemperance, the two greatest sins. Even down to the latest days, a large proportion of the Romans never lost these primitive virtues, but, in spite of them, the city was contaminated by men who no longer guarded their family name as

348.

Changes in
manners
and
customs

the most sacred thing on earth ; family ties were loosened, and vice and immorality took hold on the city so rapidly that even the most callous were frightened.

Where simplicity in dress and furniture had formerly been the rule, extravagance and the height of luxury became too

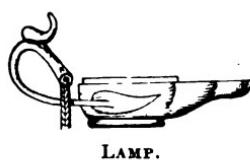


INTERIOR OF A ROMAN HOUSE. (Restoration.)

common. People copied the houses of the later Greeks, with their rich hangings and costly mosaics ; in place of the simple tunic and the ceremonial toga (a shawl-like garment, pictures, pp. 349, 379), highly colored garments and gaudy ornaments

were affected by many Romans. Owing to the climate, no elaborate system of heating was necessary ; ordinarily a brazier of charcoal sufficed to keep the house warm ; rarely a system of hot air pipes was introduced. In the day-

time the house was lighted from the inner courtyard ; at night candles and lamps illuminated the various living rooms.



LAMP.

Even to the latest days, the Greeks were saved from vulgar extravagances by their highly artistic taste; but to the fashionable Roman, the most important question was not how he might best beautify his surroundings, but how he could best spend his money in ostentatious adornment.

Another evidence of Roman extravagance is found in the increasing grandeur of Roman funerals. After death, the body of a Roman noble was anointed and arrayed in his garments of state. On the day of the burial, the waxen or silver images of the deceased and his ancestors were withdrawn from the family altar and carried in the funeral procession to the Forum, where a eulogy of the deceased was pronounced by the nearest male relative. From the Forum the procession moved on again beyond the city walls, where the body was either burned or buried. Costly tombs and monuments, the ruins of which may still be seen to-day (picture, p. 266), were erected to commemorate the greatness of the dead.

At table, especially, the tendency toward luxury showed itself. Greek cooks and Greek treatises on cooking were introduced, till the rich and extravagant Roman made it his proudest boast that he could tell —

“A jack pike taken at the Tiber’s mouth
From one between the bridges caught.”

*Horace,
Satires,
ii. 2*

Elaborate banquets were prepared, hosts of guests were summoned, and the ends of the earth were scoured for strange and unusual foods. Games, dancing, and gymnastic sports were introduced to gratify the guests; where the Greek had appealed to the intellect at table, the Roman appealed to the senses.



LAMP
STANDARD.

From idling at home to idling in the Forum was but another step. Honors gained in the service of the state were no longer the ambition of these extravagant Romans; either they devoted themselves entirely to pleasure, or they aspired to live by politics from which they and not the state should profit.

**349. Idle-
ness the
curse of
Rome**

What the rich affected, the poor soon learned to imitate. Before long, the average citizen was no longer content to view once or twice a year the games and athletic exercises which were celebrated in honor of the gods; instead, he demanded such sports as the baiting of wild animals, and, in the end, the fierce gladiatorial shows for which Rome in later times became so famous.

Once again we must add that there were still virtuous people in Rome who lived simply, who served the state honestly, and who refrained from all the debasing vices introduced from the east; it was they who saved Rome from speedy destruction, but unfortunately we know little of their life.

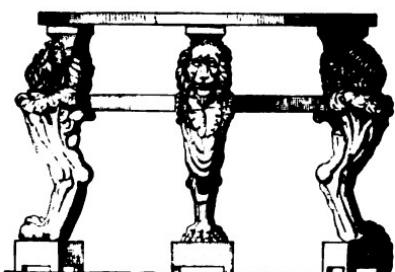
As the introduction of Hellenism had its most vicious effects on Roman customs, so it had its most beneficent effects on

350. Changes in Roman education.

Roman education So long as the Ro-

man was dealing with the people of the Italian peninsula, he felt no need for an education which should do more for him than to develop him into a good soldier; like the Spartan, he

learned to respect authority, to bow his head to an iron discipline, and to endure the hardships of war without complaining. But the new policy which led the Roman to interfere in the affairs of the entire Mediterranean world required an intellec-



MARBLE TABLE.

tual training of which the Roman, up to this time, had never dreamed. Consequently he procured for his sons "masters to teach them grammar, logic, and rhetoric; preceptors in modeling and drawing; managers of horses and dogs; and instructors in field sports: all from Greece." Slowly the more serious-minded citizens set themselves to acquire everything in science, philosophy, and literature which the Greeks had to offer, till a knowledge of Greek and the ability to use it became a part of the training of every educated Roman.

*Plutarch,
Æmilius
Paulus*

Unfortunately, too many of the people disregarded what Greece had to offer in the way of a higher education, and consequently the lower classes descended rapidly into a vulgar mob, while many of the upper classes became steeped in such luxury and vice as the Greeks had never reached in the centuries of decay. Yet to the few men who were strong enough to resist this temptation, who saw the good and noble in Greek art and literature, and set themselves resolutely to acquire it, the modern world owes a debt of the highest gratitude; for it was they who preserved and handed down to later generations those things in art and literature which have made Greece so famous throughout the ages.

In its beginnings, Roman poetical literature—if we may call those works literature which were translated for educational purposes—was the handmaiden of education. From the days of the Pyrrhic war, the knowledge of Greek was gradually diffused throughout the better classes. As time went on and the Roman came to recognize the necessity for an education more extended than that of his ancestors, the Greek instructors in grammar, rhetoric, and oratory found no Latin literature from which to draw their examples; and therefore they began to translate works from the Greek to be used in the schools. Among the first works thus made available was the *Odyssey* of Homer, translated by

*351. Early
Roman
literature*

Andronicus, a Greek slave. Many others followed in his steps.

Next in point of development came the drama. Here again the Romans lacked entirely the poetic genius which had enabled the Greeks to produce such masterpieces as the

352. The Roman drama tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides, and the comedies of Aristophanes. The Romans never had a native

drama; the Roman comedies, which were very popular to the end, were mere translations, or more properly adaptations, from the Greek. The dramatists, who were almost invariably Greek slaves or freedmen, selected for translation the works of the later playwrights like Menander and his school. To make these works fit for the Roman stage, changes in character, situations, and plot were necessary, and in the change the comedies lost most of the literary value which they origi-



ACTORS' MASKS FROM POMPEII.

nally had. Among the many writers of this comedy, between 250 and 150 B.C., only two have left a reputation which

even approaches greatness: Plautus, who died in 184 B.C., and Terence, who was born about the time that Plautus died.

Though the Romans in the time of the early republic never produced any really great poetry, the history of prose literature

353. Early prose writers presents some eminent names. Of the earliest times only a few fragments of meager chronicles, genealogical records, and public documents now exist. In the period

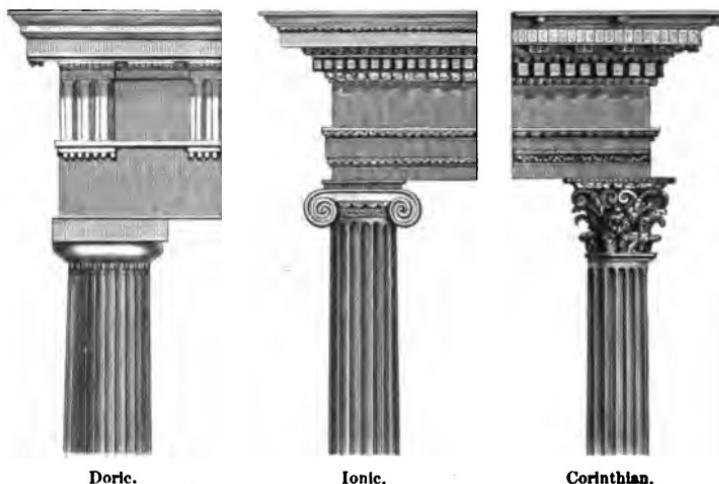
of the first Punic war, we come upon the first works which have any pretensions to literary form: the annals, written first in Greek, later in Latin, by men of noble families like Fabius Pictor and Publius Scipio, son of Scipio Africanus, to exalt the honor of their city and the glory of their family name. Thenceforward, the list of prose writings grows larger and larger with each succeeding year. In the time of the

second Punic war and the wars of conquest in the east, the most eminent writer was that Cato of whom we have already heard. Most famous of his works were his histories and his orations, none of which, however, have been preserved in more than fragmentary form.

“Having little creative genius, the Romans acquired their art in much the same way that they acquired their provinces—that is, by conquest.” In her whole history Rome produced not a single artist of world-wide fame like Phidias and Praxiteles. The reason is simple: the intensely practical nature of the Roman never idealized anything but power, law, and profit; a thing had no value to him beyond what it would bring in the gold of commerce. With the Greek every trade was an art, everything that he touched he beautified; with the Roman every art was a trade, what he created invariably had a definite commercial value. Nevertheless, out of Tarentum, out of Syracuse, out of Corinth, the works of art which the centuries had created were transported to Rome. Ultimately, the imperial city became the home of thousands of art treasures gathered from all parts of the ancient world, and though Rome never appreciated them in the spirit in which they were created, she preserved many of them for the enjoyment of future ages.

As to Roman architecture, a little more than this must be said. Though the Romans never created a distinctive style of their own, like the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian styles of Greece; though they borrowed either from the Etruscans or from the Greeks, still, in the course of time, many magnificent monuments of skill and patience were created. Enormous buildings, imperishable aqueducts, roads and bridges, magnificent arches and commemorative columns, were erected within the city and in the surrounding territory; till even to-day all Italy and much of Europe besides bear witness to the thoroughness and industry of the Roman architects and builders.

*Mathews,
Story of,
Architecture, ch. vii.
354. The
Romans as
conserva-
tors of art*



THE THREE ORDERS OF ARCHITECTURE.

The conquest of the east had a double effect. It served to transport to Rome the civilization of the Hellenic world, and 355. **Summary** thus to diffuse throughout the west the treasures of the Greek mind and genius, much as the conquests of Alexander had diffused those treasures through the east. Unfortunately, the Greek culture which the Romans inherited was deeply tinctured with the weaknesses of a decadent civilization; and thus, while the Romans learned much that was good from the Greeks, they also accepted much that was bad. Their best acquisition was the treasure of literary and graphic art which they imported bodily from Greece; with these as models, they built up in time a native literature of some merit and a stately and imposing national architecture.

TOPICS

- Suggestive topics**
- (1) With what modern people would you compare the old Romans? (2) Why did not the Romans develop an art of their own? (3) Compare the early religion of Rome with what you have

learned about the early Greek religion. (4) Is war likely to lead to morality or immorality? Explain and show how Rome was an example. (5) Does any nation of modern times resemble Rome in love of war and mastery of weaker nations? (6) Does any modern nation resemble Greece in manners and love of art? (7) Since the Romans did not devote themselves to art and literature, upon what did they spend their time in time of peace? (8) Why did not the Romans produce more poetry?

(9) From a study of illustrations in this and other books, can you detect the changes made by the Romans in the Greek architecture? (10) Roman fondness for Greek works of art. (11) Slave market in Rome. (12) Roman admiration for Greek literature. (13) A Roman temple ceremonial. (14) Roman dress. (15) A Roman dinner. (16) Roman funerals. (17) Roman tombs.

[Search topics](#)

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[Modern authorities](#)

See sources under chapter xxvi.; Horace, *Odes, Satires, Epistles*. [Sources](#)



ROMAN TABLE.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION: THE GRACCHI (133-121 B.C.)

So long as the Roman armies had been confined in their operations to the peninsula of Italy, the Senate and magistrates had 356. Gov- found an efficient mode of organization for the conquered
~~overnment~~
by the new territory. Had they been able to establish a system nobility equally wise for the government of their foreign pos- sessions, the revolution, the history of which we are about to study, would probably never have taken place.

That the constitutional development beyond the peninsula did not keep pace with the conquest of territory was due to the constantly narrowing tendency of the government. The Licinian law (367 B.C.) had, in theory, opened the higher magistracies to all plebeians; in reality, but few of the plebeians ever enjoyed the privileges thus granted. All elections and all legislative action in the Comitia Centuriata were controlled by the magistrates, who could block proceedings by declaring that the conduct of the assembly was contrary to the will of the gods. Furthermore, candidates for office were regularly presented to the assembly by the consuls; thus only such citizens as had won their approval could be placed in nomination for office. In this way, within a generation or two after the passage of the law, a new nobility grew up, consisting of the old patrician families and a few plebeian families whom the patrician consuls favored; and within the ranks of this new nobility all the higher magistracies were distributed. Only once or twice in a generation did any one outside the charmed circle succeed in rising to an important position in

the state. Thus the government was still in the hands of an oligarchy.

The power of the oligarchy might yet have been considerably checked had the assemblies continued to be vigorous political bodies; but for various reasons they lost ground, 357. Deca-
and the tendency was more and more to throw all power dence of
into the hands of the Senate. The principal causes of this Roman
unfortunate state of things were the scattering of the popula- assemblies
tion due to the extension of the Ager Romanus (see map, p. 264); the fact that the citizens who lived upon the farms distant from the city seldom attended the meetings of the assemblies; and the constant deterioration of the city population, due to causes which will soon appear, which made it possible for the nobility to secure whatever legislation they desired by the use of bribes. In the Senate, the few noble families reigned supreme; and on the lists appeared only the names of ex-magistrates, who came in time to sit in the Senate by right of office, and the names of such other members of the nobility as the censors saw fit to admit. As the assemblies declined, the Senate grew in power, till, by the middle of the second century B.C., "a Polybius,
person staying in Rome when the consuls were not in vi. 13
town, might easily imagine that the constitution was a complete aristocracy with the Senate in control."

Out of these conditions there grew in time two new parties: the *optimates*, who stood for the maintenance of the oligarchy; and the *populares*, who demanded ostensibly such reforms as would admit to a real share in the government all those who were excluded. In reality, the only thing which separated the two parties was the fact that the optimates controlled all the offices and privileges incident thereto, and sought to keep them; the *populares* were deprived of office and were anxious to share in the plunder.

Had the privileges which the senatorial party enjoyed been confined to the government of Italy, some remedy for the

growing evils might still have been found ; but the extension of Roman dominion beyond the seas greatly increased the ad-

**358. Gov-
ernment
of the
provinces** vantages to be gained by belonging to the ruling party, and therefore the optimates fought with all their might to maintain their monopoly.

In the provinces, the absolutely supreme authority was the governor, invariably a proconsul or a proprætor—that is, a man who had held the office of consul or prætor in some previous year. At first, the governors conducted themselves with the dignity and uprightness which were characteristic of the ancient Roman, but in time this tradition changed. From the first, the provinces owed the city an annual tribute, and custom prescribed that the inhabitants should bestow upon the governors certain gifts and dues necessary for the maintenance of their dignity. Owing to the deterioration in the Roman character which is noticed in the last chapter, the opportunity for plunder through these tributes, and through the gifts and dues offered to the governor, became irresistible ; and extortion and illegal charges became the rule. Against these extortions, the provincial had but little remedy, for, like all Roman magistrates, the governors were free from trial till the end of their term of office; therefore, the provincial who wished to make a complaint must wait till the governor returned to Rome. Even then, if the great cost of travel for himself and his witnesses did not deter him, he must expect scanty justice, since the court which tried the offender was the Senate ; and in the Senate sat the relatives and friends of the governor, and those who hoped some day to be governors themselves. Therefore, in most cases, the provincials preferred to suffer in silence ; and the looting went on undisturbed.

The reaction upon Italy of such conditions in the provinces was inevitable. The Roman, master of the earth, who heeded so little the rights of the provincial, could scarcely be expected to be considerate in his dealings

**359. Evil
effects in
Italy**

with his allies in Italy. Violence and intimidation in the peninsula followed on violence and intimidation in the provinces, till Italy was little better off than the world beyond the peninsula.

The loss in effective administration was not the worst symptom of decay. The twelve or fourteen years which Hannibal had spent in Italy created conditions from which Rome never recovered. Year after year the fields were devastated; year after year the Roman and Italian youths were sacrificed in battle, till few able-bodied men were left to cultivate the soil.

When the second Punic war was over, the era of rapid conquest in the east began. That conquest had two important economic effects.



THE GRACCHI. (Ideal portraits.)

In the first place, the raising of grain in Italy ceased to be profitable; the provinces could supply food stuffs far more cheaply; consequently, Italy became more and more an untilled country as time went on. The small farmer, who had once lived contentedly on his few acres, abandoned his fields or sold them to the rich noble. Large cattle ranches and extensive olive plantations sprang up where the small farms had been, till, in the year 133 B.C., Tiberius Gracchus, of whom we shall hear more in the next pages, declared, "The savage beasts in Italy have their particular dens; but the men who bear arms and expose their lives for the safety of their country enjoy nothing more than the air and light."

*Plutarch,
Tiberius
Gracchus*

The second effect of the rapid foreign conquests was the extension of the institution of slavery. As a result of the wars, thousands of slaves poured into Italy; at Delos in the *Ægean*, the great slave market, ten thousand slaves are said to have been sold in a single day. Slave labor was cheaper than free labor, and consequently the plantation owners offered no employment in their fields for the dispossessed farmers. In the city, conditions were no better: the Romans had never been a manufacturing people, and now that the provinces ministered to their wants, industrial development was checked by the importation of articles of utility and luxury from lands beyond the sea.

Thus the average Roman freeman, with his chances for honest labor cut off in the country and in the city, was forced into one or the other of two dependent positions. Either he joined the army and spent his days in the camp and field; or he drifted into the city, where he lived on the bounty of the state or of the noble senator who had grown rich at his expense.

The last hope of peaceful reform disappeared as these hosts of idle men gradually overran the city. Many of them were Roman citizens and therefore had a right to participate in the deliberations of the assemblies. That they would exercise this right wisely could hardly be expected; all they wanted was to live in idleness, and consequently the man who was willing to pay the price might have their votes in the assembly.

The high-handed methods of the nobles, and the deterioration of the lower classes, combined to prevent an effective reorganization of the state. Still, there were those who hoped for better results: by their efforts, a court of senators was set up for the trial of returning governors; a system (183 B.C.) of secret ballot, designed to break up bribery and corruption, was provided in the assemblies; and several other reforms

were secured. None of these remedies, however, struck at the root of the evils. To rejuvenate the constitution, two radical reforms were necessary: first, the city rabble must be dissipated and set to some honest labor; second, the excessive power of the Senate must be broken. If these changes could be brought about, the republic might yet hope to live; if not, the doom of the old constitution was sealed.

To the work of reform there now came a young man almost wholly untried in the field of politics,—Tiberius Gracchus. Connected by ties of sympathy and relationship with the better class of the Roman nobility, descended through his mother, Cornelia, from Scipio Africanus, he had been brought up to regard the welfare of his country as the noblest aim in life.

In December, 134 B.C., he was elected tribune. Early in the next year, he brought before the Comitia Tributa Plebis a law for the redistribution of the public lands which in its main features was but a revival of the agrarian provisions of the Licinian law. The new statute provided that all public lands in the possession of private holders should be resumed by the state and redistributed among the poorer citizens in small lots. Henceforth, no man was to be allowed to hold more than five hundred jugera (about three hundred acres), except that a man who had sons might retain two hundred and fifty jugera for each son, the total not to exceed one thousand. To carry out the provisions of the law, a commission of three was to be appointed by the assembly.

Against this law, the nobles made most violent objections. In the first place, it was introduced without the consent of the Senate, a method entirely opposed to the spirit of the constitution as it had been interpreted for many years past; in the second place, it would work great injury to many innocent men, who for generations had enjoyed the privilege of unlimited holdings, and had improved the land as though it were their own.

Appian, Civil Wars, i. introd.

363. Beginning of the reign of force

"In the olden days," says the historian Appian, "the plebeians and the Senate had often been at strife with each other concerning the enactment of laws. . . . Their dissensions and contests, however, were always within the law, and were always compassed by mutual concession and with much respect for each other."

Times were now changed: as a champion of the Senate, there arose in the Comitia Tributa Plebis a tribune named Octavius, who vetoed all the proposals of Tiberius Gracchus. Instead of biding his time and waiting for another year, as the tribunes of earlier days would have done, Tiberius at once resorted to force and had Octavius deposed from office, an absolutely unconstitutional act. With his fellow-tribune out of the way, Tiberius succeeded in forcing the agrarian law through; the commission was appointed, and the work of distribution begun.

The unlawful action of Tiberius Gracchus was an act of revolution. Whether the law was good or bad, whether Tiberius was right or wrong in believing that a new peasant population was to be created in Italy, and the commonwealth saved, it still remains true that he was the first to violate the ancient constitution.

The Senate was not slow to follow his example. As the day for the election of 133 B.C. approached, it became evident that it would be a time of violence; consequently, Tiberius surrounded himself with a bodyguard drawn from among the city rabble. At the election, the parties struggled for two days for the mastery. Though the constitution forbade a tribune to stand for re-election, Tiberius was a candidate, and, had the assembly had its way, would probably have been elected. On the second day, however, the two parties came to blows, and in the struggle Tiberius and many of his followers were killed. "This," says Paterculus, "was the beginning of civil bloodshed, and freedom from punish-

Paterculus, ii. 3

ment, for him who used the sword in Rome. Henceforth, right was opposed by strength, . . . disputes were settled by the sword, and wars were undertaken, not for honorable reasons, but for private gain."

Henceforth civil war was to be the ultimate mode of settling quarrels between the parties; nevertheless peace for a time followed upon the death of Gracchus. The work of the commission went on, and a few citizens were provided with farms. In the end, however, the commission proposed to distribute the public lands which were in the hands of the allies, and then Scipio *Æ*milianus, the leader of the moderates, who at first had supported Tiberius, interfered. By his influence, a law was passed withdrawing the distribution from the commission and giving it into the hands of the consul.

384. Failure of the agrarian laws

As the consul was hostile to the whole scheme, he allowed the law to fall into abeyance, and thenceforth no more lands were given to the poor. A few thousand people had been provided with homesteads, it is true, but thousands were still without farms, and the city rabble was still a menace to the state. Thus the work of Tiberius Gracchus was almost a total failure. The reaction was more than a mere setback to a rising reform; it was a confession that Rome was helpless to better or maintain her government by peaceful and lawful means, that the fruit of centuries of patience, sacrifice, and observance of law was to be swept away by the reign of brute force.

Ten years after the death of Tiberius, in 123 B.C., Gaius Gracchus, his brother, was elected tribune. His education, like that of his brother, had led him to despise the vulgar pleasures in which the men of his order so commonly indulged; like his brother, he had his heart set upon remedying those evils which threatened the very existence of the state. He brought to his task talents far higher than

385. Gaius Gracchus

those of Tiberius; he had a much clearer view of the reforms necessary for the betterment of the government; and in all probability he did not deceive himself about the difficulty of his task. Unfortunately for his good fame and for the well-being of Rome, he came to his work with mixed motives: undoubtedly he desired to better the condition of the people; but it is equally true that he was swayed in his actions by his desire for revenge for the death of his brother.

In the interval between 133 and 123 B.C. a law had been passed which made it legal for a tribune to seek reelection as often as he chose. Gaius therefore anticipated no trouble in holding office year after year for an indefinite period, and as tribune he hoped to sway the people to do his bidding with unquestioning fidelity. If, as he hoped, he could hold the good will of the people, no man could be elected to office, no law could be passed, without his sanction. Thus he would be the master of the city and could accomplish in time his schemes for revenge and his plans for the betterment of the people.

From 123 to 121 B.C. he worked with unceasing activity. First, he passed a law—generally known as the corn law—

366. Gaius Gracchus supported by the rabble which gave to any citizen who cared to enroll himself the right to purchase each month, at greatly reduced rates, enough grain to support himself and his family.

Thus the rabble of the city was to be taken care of.

Whether Gracchus carried the law from a sincere desire to aid the poor of the city, or from a desire to gain their allegiance in the struggle with the Senate which he was about to inaugurate, the effect was evil. He paved the way, by this distribution of grain, for the destruction of the last vestiges of self-respect among his poorer fellow-citizens. When a man could live by the bounty of the state, it was unreasonable to expect him to make vigorous efforts to support himself.

This law was followed by others of a similar character. To

lighten the burdens of the soldiers, reforms in the organization of the army were made. To provide for those who were still anxious to live by farming, a number of colonies were to be established in Italy and beyond the seas.

By these laws, the favor of the poorer citizens was gained. The next step was to create a rift in the union between the nobles and the rich commoners, the bankers of ancient Rome. These commoners were known as *equites* (knights), because in earlier times they had been able by their wealth to equip themselves as horsemen in the army. To gain their favor, Gracchus carried through the Comitia Tributa Plebis a law which took out of the hands of the Senate all control of the courts, and transferred it to the equites. Henceforth, the returning governor of a province could not hope to be tried by men of his own order, and therefore, if the knights did their duty, he could no longer expect to carry on his depredations in the province with immunity. This reform, as it proved, was of little permanent value; for the knights, too, learned to take bribes, and the provincials sank back into despair.

367. Gaius
Gracchus
supported
by the
knights



ROMAN KNIGHT. (Pompeii.)

Throughout the history of the republic, it was the practice of the government, instead of collecting its own taxes as we do to-day, to sell the revenues of each province to the highest bidder, who was then free to collect the taxes as he pleased. To bind the equites still closer to his cause, Gracchus now carried a law which provided that the revenues of the provinces, which had heretofore been sold in the provinces themselves, should hereafter be sold at Rome. As the equites were the financiers and bankers of Rome, they alone would profit by this change. Thus, with the courts and the financial admin-

Appian, Civil Wars, i. 3, 22 istration in the hands of the equites, "it shortly came about that the political mastery was turned upside down; the power was all in the hands of the knights, the honor only remained to the Senate."

The two years from 123 to 121 B.C. are notable for the passage of these and many other laws. Toward the end of his second

368. The fatal mistake of Gaius Gracchus year of office, Gracchus made his first political mistake. He proposed a law extending Roman citizenship to the Italian allies,—an idea which had been floating in the minds of various reformers for several years. At once the rabble rebelled; the privileges of Roman citizenship, with the monthly distributions of grain, were far too great to be lightly thrown to the Italian allies.

The Senate saw its opportunity, and hastened to take it. Marcus Livius Drusus, a colleague of Gracchus in the tribuni-

369. End of Gaius Gracchus cian office, became the willing tool of the nobles, and where Gracchus offered the people grain at low prices, he offered it for nothing; where Gracchus offered lands for colonization beyond the sea, he offered lands in Italy. Thus he won the voters over to his side, and when the election came round once more, Gracchus was defeated and retired to private life. Instead of submitting quietly and waiting for another chance, he now proceeded to violence, like his brother before him. The Senate took up the gage, and in the riots which followed Gracchus was killed, and the nobles, supported for the moment by the fickle rabble, were once more in complete control.

Thus died the second of the brothers. "However much we may extol his nobility of mind," says a German historian,

Inne, Hist. of Rome, bk. vii. ch. vi. "the purity and unselfishness of his motives, his self-devoting courage, we can not place him among the great men who shine in history as the benefactors of mankind." Too much that he did tended to debase the people of Rome; his corn law, especially, opened the way to

the complete pauperization of the rabble, which had already become a constant menace to the safety of the state.

With Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus began the era of civil violence and political revolution which ended only when, a hundred years later, the republic ceased to exist. Both ^{370.} Summary men found conditions in the provinces and in Italy which cried out loudly for reform. Both were probably actuated by motives far more sincere than those of most of the men of their day; but for securing their ends both used methods which were bound to lead to open violence and murder; and both paid the penalty for their temerity with their lives. The elder had hoped to regenerate the state by recreating an Italian peasantry; the younger to revolutionize affairs by breaking the power of the Senate and admitting the knights to a share in the government. Both failed. Henceforth, for a hundred years, the history of Rome is the history of the decline and fall of the Roman republic. Yet this period of civic decline is coincident with the greatest growth of the Roman territory. Rome the republic was fast ceasing to exist; and yet the expansion of the Roman dominions was still going on with unchecked rapidity.

TOPICS

- (1) In what way did the system of organizing conquered territory in Italy differ from that in lands outside of Italy? (2) Were the optimates and populares political parties in our sense of the word? (3) Was it possible to carry out the two reforms advocated by the Gracchi? (4) Why did not Tiberius Gracchus consult the Senate before he framed his proposed law? (5) How long did Licinius urge his law before it was passed? Why did not Tiberius Gracchus act in a like manner? (6) Was the unconstitutional means employed by Tiberius Gracchus justifiable? To what result did it lead, and what form of government naturally followed? (7) Why was the system vicious which allowed a tribune to hold office repeatedly? (8) Why was the free distribution of grain a bad thing? (9) Why were the reforms of Gaius Gracchus in regard to the equites a failure? (10) The Gracchi are called both Suggestive topics

reformers and demagogues. Explain why. (11) Would it have been advisable to give Roman citizenship to the allies? Explain.

Search topics
(12) System of farming the revenues. (13) Methods of distributing grain to the poor citizens. (14) Power of the censors. (15) Abuses of provincial government. (16) Romans sold as slaves for debt. (17) Election riots in Rome.

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CHAPTER XXIX.

THE EFFECT OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE CITY AND THE DEPENDENCIES: MARIUS AND SULLA (121-79 B.C.)

"So the sedition of the younger Gracchus came to an end," says Appian. "Not long afterward, a law was enacted permitting landholders to sell the land which they had quarreled about; . . . presently, the rich bought the allotments of the poor, or found pretexts for seizing them by force. Thus the condition of the poor became even worse than it had been before."

*Appian,
Civil Wars,
i. 4, 27*
371. Gov-
ernment by
the restored
optimates

The optimates were in power once more, but their authority was no longer what it had once been; they were forced both to cater to the city rabble and to placate the knights. Disorganization and corruption became so common that by the end of the century Jugurtha, king of Numidia, on one occasion, when he was visiting Rome, declared that "the whole *Appian, Nu-*
city of Rome could be bought, if only a purchaser could *midia, i. 2*
be found to bid for it." Within the city and the peninsula, the government of the nobles was too often marked by extortion and injustice; in the dependencies, the honor of the imperial city was sacrificed, till even the poorest provincial came to hate and despise his masters.

The depravity of the optimates was shown in the dealings of the Senate with the king of Numidia. Numidia, as we may remember, had been settled upon Massinissa and his descendants at the end of the second Punic war in 201 B.C. In the last years of the second century B.C. there arose in the land a new man, Jugurtha, an illegitimate descendant of Massinissa. By intrigue and murder and by a liberal use of money

**372. The
Jugurthan
war (111-
105 B.C.)**

among the Roman senators, he succeeded in removing, one by one, the legitimate claimants to the throne. Protest after protest against his conduct was sent to Rome; but each time the glitter of his gold blinded the eyes of the optimates, and the usurper was left free to carry on his schemes. At last, in 111 B.C., popular indignation rose to such a pitch in Rome that the Senate could no longer resist, and war was declared against Jugurtha.

At first, the Roman arms met with nothing but reverses; but in 109 B.C. the command fell to the consul Metellus, "a man

Sallust, Jugurthan War, xlivi. of energy, and, though an opponent of the popular party, yet of a character uniformly irreproachable." Under his leadership, the fortunes of Rome soon revived, and Jugurtha was reduced to guerrilla warfare.

In the army of Metellus, second in command to the

373. Gaius Marius consul, was Gaius Marius, the son of a poor day laborer, who had risen from the ranks. At the end of the campaign in 107 B.C. Marius aspired to become consul for the

next year so that he might be first in command. Metellus naturally objected; nevertheless, he was ultimately forced to grant Marius leave of absence so that he might go to Rome to stand for office. In 106 B.C. Marius returned to Africa as consul and succeeded Metellus. Still the war dragged on till 105 B.C., and then Lucius Cornelius Sulla, of whom we shall



"MARIUS."
Vatican, Rome.

hear much more in the next few years, succeeded in capturing Jugurtha, and the war came to a speedy end.

While the Numidian war was dragging out its weary length in Africa, serious trouble was threatening Rome on the north. From the marshes and forests of Germany, a horde of savage tribes, known as the Cimbri and Teutones, had swept down into the lands to the north and west of Italy, and during the Jugurthan war these hordes had come to be the black terror of Rome. General after general had been sent out against them, but no one had as yet succeeded in defeating them. In 105 B.C. Marius returned from Africa, and in him the people saw their last hope of salvation. Year after year he was elected consul, though such continuance in office was contrary to the spirit of the constitution, in anticipation of the coming of the Cimbri and Teutones. For three years he worked unceasingly, reorganizing and drilling his army, and then, in 102 B.C., he marched north into Gaul to meet the enemy.

Meanwhile, the barbarians had separated into two hordes with the intention of invading Italy simultaneously from the west and north. At Aquæ Sextiæ in southern Gaul, Marius came upon the first of these hordes and engaged them in battle: the struggle was fierce, but the training of the legions told, and the Germans were completely defeated. Hastening back to Italy, Marius arrived just in time to save his colleague, Catulus, from defeat. On the Raudian Plain, near Vercellæ, the Romans and the Teutones met in the final battle. Again the struggle was fierce, but again the Romans were victorious. Not only was the German invasion checked, but the power of the Germans was so broken that for more than five centuries no German army again entered Italy. While the danger lasted, the terror of Rome was extreme; when the danger was over, one grand result remained: Marius had become the greatest man in Rome.

Had Marius died in 101 b.c., he would have come down in history as one of the greatest heroes of the republic, a second Romulus or Camillus; unfortunately for his future fame, he now aspired to take a hand in civil affairs. A man of the people, rough and outspoken, with none of the graces or finesse which go to make a successful politician, he was as poor a leader in civil affairs as he had been a good commander in war. Ambitious for power, he allied himself with two men who were, at the moment, the leaders of the *populares*,—Saturninus, a violent enemy of the Senate, and Glaucia, a low politician, “of all mortals, the most perverse, shrewd, and cunning.” In 100 b.c. Marius divided with them the offices of the state: he himself became consul for the sixth time, Glaucia became *praetor*, and Saturninus reserved for himself the tribunate.

In their year of office, the three men carried, without any regard to the constitution, a series of laws which resembled in many ways the statutes which the Gracchi had enacted a generation before. However good many of their measures may have been, their methods were entirely unjustifiable. Before the year was over, the rabble had turned against Saturninus and Glaucia because they were supporting measures in favor of the rural plebeians; the Senate bitterly opposed all the reforms; and Marius, frightened by the storm of opposition which his colleagues had raised, tried to trim his sails so as to steer between all parties. The inevitable result followed: a pitched battle took place in the Forum between the rural plebeians and the rabble; Saturninus and Glaucia were both killed, and Marius was discredited with all parties. “Free-Civil Wars, *i. 4, 33* dom, democracy, laws, reputation, official position, were no longer of any use to anybody, since the tribunes . . . committed such outrages and suffered such indignities.”

During the next ten years, all questions of internal politics were obscured by the persistent demand of the Italian allies

for Roman citizenship. The more liberal Romans had conceded for a generation that the demand was just; but the rabble and the Senate steadily opposed it. In 91 B.C. a new champion of the allies arose in the city: Marcus Livius Drusus, a son of that Drusus who had brought about the downfall of Gaius Gracchus. Elected tribune in 91 B.C., he proposed a number of laws which should restore to the Senate power over the courts, which should better the condition of the common people, which should admit the allies to some share in the privileges of Roman citizenship. Though much that Drusus proposed was intended to benefit the Senate and the common people, all classes rose in arms against the man who dared to suggest that they should share their privileges with the common herd of Italians. Again the dagger was appealed to, and Drusus fell, a victim to his desire to help the struggling allies.

"Now when the Italians learned of the killing of Drusus, . . . they considered it no longer bearable that those who were laboring for their political advancement should suffer such outrages; and as they saw no other means of acquiring citizenship, they decided to revolt from the Romans altogether." Messengers passed from one Italian city to another, till everything was ready; then the revolt flamed out, and all eastern and southern Italy sprang to arms. For at least a year, the fortunes of war were decidedly favorable to the allies; a rough organization was perfected; a capital, called Italica, was established in the stronghold of Corfinium; and altogether the chances for success seemed bright.

Then the tables turned. After all, the military force of the allies was no match for the enormous resources of Rome, and slowly but surely the allies were defeated and their rising suppressed. Not, however, till their point had been carried: first, in 90 B.C., citizenship was granted to those allies who had remained faithful to Rome from the start; then, in

376. Last
attempt to
enfranchise
the allies
(91 B.C.)

Appian,
Civil Wars,
i. 5, 38

377. The
Social war
(90-89 B.C.)

89 B.C., citizenship was bestowed upon those who were willing to lay down their arms within thirty days. After these concessions had been made, there was little use in continuing the fight; and one by one the allies returned to their ancient allegiance, henceforth to be citizens of Rome with rights equal to those of all other Romans. Notwithstanding the good results, the whole affair was full of sadness: what patriots like Gaius Gracchus and Drusus had failed to bring about by peaceful means, had now been accomplished at the cost of blood and war.

The Social war was over, but for Rome there was still no peace. In Asia Minor, a new and powerful enemy, Mithridates,

^{378. Begin-} king of Pontus, had overrun the
^{ning of civil} dominions of Rome and her allies,
^{war}

and against him war must be declared at once. In this war, Sulla, one of the consuls for the year, was the natural commander; but Marius coveted the honor, and his partisans were determined that he should have it. Therefore Sulpicius, one of the tribunes, carried a law through the Comitia Tributa Plebis transferring the command of the army from Sulla to Marius. Though the law was unconstitutional, Sulla wasted no time in trying to defeat it by civil means; all men knew that the time for appeal to reason and precedent had long since passed in Rome. Breaking camp at Nola, Sulla marched with his army on Rome. Step by step he fought his way, and finally led his victorious troops into the very Forum at Rome; then, by force of arms, he removed from the government all elements opposed to his rule, and set up new officers upon whose fidelity



"SULLA."
Vatican, Rome.

he could depend. Thus was genuine constitutional government destroyed in Rome: henceforth, the soldier and not the statesman was to be master of the city, Italy, and the empire.

In 87 B.C. Sulla finally set sail for the east. It was high time. Since Rome had acquired the province of Asia in 133 B.C., many changes had taken place in Asia Minor, and in the last fifteen or twenty years a new and powerful enemy to the republic had arisen in the north-eastern part of the peninsula. In 120 B.C. Mithridates VI., then a mere boy, succeeded to the throne of the kingdom of Pontus, on the shores of the Black Sea. This Mithridates was "a man most active in war; preëminent in courage, distinguished sometimes by success and always by spirit; in council, a general; in action, a soldier; in hatred of the Romans, another Hannibal"; he was not content to live out his life as a petty sovereign in an almost unknown land. By alliance, by intrigue, and by conquest he added to his dominions till they extended from the Crimea almost to the Bosporus. At first, he made war on Rome only by stealth, by attacking her allies and harassing her governors wherever he could; finally he threw off the mask and invaded the province of Asia itself. Within a few months, he annihilated the Roman garrisons, and exterminated almost all the Italians in Asia Minor. In the end, even Greece and Macedonia were drawn into the revolt.

For the moment, Mithridates was king over all Asia Minor; and all Greece and Macedonia, even to the Adriatic Sea, owned him as overlord. In this critical moment (87 B.C.), Sulla finally appeared on the scene. The revolt in Greece was slowly suppressed; Athens and Piræus, which held out longest, were reduced and punished for their contumacy. In 84 B.C., after three years of fighting in Greece, Sulla crossed the Hellespont into Asia Minor, and before the end of the year Mithridates was forced to consent to the terms of peace

379. First
Mithridatic
war (87-84
B.C.)

Paterculus,
ii. 18

which Sulla dictated. In brief, he was to retire into his ancient kingdom of Pontus, the province of Asia was to be reestablished, the Roman allies were to be restored to their dominions, those who had deserted Rome were to be punished, those who had remained faithful were to receive their reward. Thus was the supremacy of Rome once again established in the east.

During the absence of Sulla, indeed almost before he was out of sight of Italy, a military revolution had once more over-

380. Marian turned the government. For weeks the campaign raged ^{party in control of} about the walls of Rome, till the populares, under the leadership of Marius and a new partisan, Cinna, entered the city and turned the friends of Sulla out. Then the slaughter of the optimates began: in the work of revenge, Marius, now grown old, exhibited all the fury and blood-thirstiness of a madman; for days his political enemies were hunted out and murdered in cold blood; mercy or consideration there was none.

In 86 B.C. Marius entered upon his seventh and last consulship, with Cinna as colleague; but he lived only a few weeks to enjoy the carnival of blood which he had inaugurated. After *Plutarch, Marius* seventeen days of power, he died, "to the great joy and content of Rome, which thereby was in great hopes to be delivered from the calamity of a cruel tyrant." Then for three years Cinna ruled the city alone, practically disregarding every provision of the republican constitution. The three years are characterized by inaction — it can scarcely be called peace — on the part of all factions.

Sulla landed at Brundisium in 83 B.C., after finishing the Mithridatic war. At once he was joined by all the forces in **381. The** Italy hostile to Cinna, and that same summer a war began. ^{return of} **Sulla (83 B.C.)** For two years the fight went on; day by day news of battles, of pillage, and of murder reached Rome. Sulla was slowly drawing his net closer and closer about his enemies;

one by one the armies of the opposition were put to rout, till, in a battle at the Colline gate, at the very entrance to the city, the last ray of hope for the populares was extinguished, and Sulla entered the city in triumph, amid the rejoicings of his partisans.

Now began the proscriptions, the model for which Sulla found in the acts of Marius five years before. Lists were posted in the Forum containing the names of those regarded as enemies of the state. "Not in Rome alone did these proscriptions prevail; but throughout all the cities of Italy, the effusion of blood was such that neither sanctuary of the gods, nor hearth of hospitality, nor ancestral home, escaped." Within three months, several thousands were given up to slaughter; and often the only reason for the murder was the personal enmity or the envy which one of Sulla's followers bore against the victim.

These cold-blooded murders, often of wholly innocent people, are the blot which mark for all time the reputation of Sulla. He soon began to show a better side of his character. In the ten years of social and civil war, the Roman constitution had been strained beyond all hope of recovery; complete reconstruction was necessary. To accomplish this result, Sulla had himself elected perpetual dictator, with absolute and unlimited power over the entire Roman world. Armed with this authority, he set about recreating the Roman constitution.

The basis of Sulla's reforms was the principle that all power should be vested, as of old, in the Senate. To fill up its ranks, which had been woefully depleted by wars and proscriptions, he added to the rolls the names of three hundred men of the equestrian order. Then, to keep it full, and to break the power of the censors over the senatorial lists, he decreed that in future all men who had once held the office of quæstor should ever after sit in the Senate by right of office, and no senator should in the future be deprived of his seat by vote of the

382. The
Sullan con-
stitution

censors. Next, he formally enacted what in former times had been the custom of the land — that no law should come before the assemblies before the Senate had acted upon it and consented to its passage.

Having thus increased the power of the Senate, he next attacked the authority of the tribunes, the source of most of the disturbances of the last fifty years. Henceforth, no tribune should have the right to convene the people for the purpose of discussing laws. Furthermore, to lessen the importance of the office, he decreed that in future no man who had once been tribune should ever after be eligible to any curule office, that is, to the office of dictator, consul, prætor, censor, or curule ædile.

To prevent the gathering of excessive power in a few hands, he next curtailed the functions of the consuls and the prætors by enacting that neither should in future exercise the functions of their office beyond the confines of Italy, or busy themselves with anything but the administration of civil affairs. In the provinces, proconsuls and proprætors, who exercised both military and civil power, were to administer affairs.

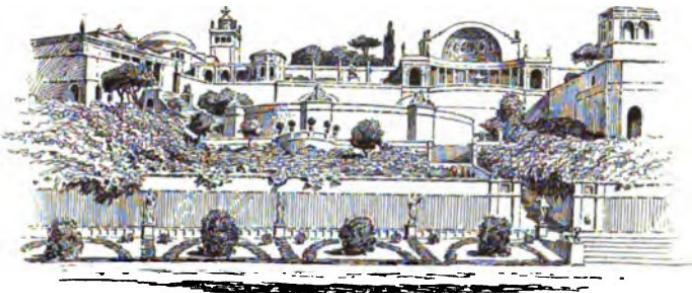
Finally, he completely reorganized the judicial system by depriving the equites of the power which Gaius Gracchus had conferred upon them, and bestowing it again upon the members of the Senate.

To the honor of Sulla be it said, when he had completed his work, he abdicated the office of dictator and retired to his country estate, where (if we may trust his biographers) he lived for the few remaining months of his career life like any other noble citizen of Rome.

Sulla's life and works deserve more discussion than can here be given. He was born of an obscure aristocratic family, and rose but slowly in his profession as a soldier. In war, he was a mixture of the lion and the fox; in peace, he lived the life of a cynic and a libertine. In war, he ended his career

383. End
of Sulla's
career

at the highest pinnacle of military fame; in peace, he accomplished, at the end of his days, a really herculean task. Had the Senate been worthy of his trust, it might have dated a new lease of power from the days of his reforms. Compared with Marius, he was a far greater man: for much of the fame of



A ROMAN COUNTRY ESTATE, OR VILLA. (Restoration.)

Marius was due to fortunate chance, and in politics he was certainly incompetent; Sulla, on the other hand, won his title to military glory by skillfully planned and hard-fought battles, and in civil affairs, though his ideals may not have been high, he had, nevertheless, a clear idea of the necessities of the Roman state.

In the half century after the days of the Gracchi, the Roman republic proceeded far on the road to dissolution. The incompetence of the nobility was proved by the 384. ^{summary} maladministration in Numidia. Nearly twenty years were wasted in settling accounts with a petty African chief simply because the majority of the nobles were so corrupt that no man was strong enough to resist the bribes which Jugurtha poured into Rome. After the end of the Jugurthan war came the war with the Cimbri and Teutones, in which Marius won undying fame.

Within the city, the great source of contention was the

question of granting the franchise to the Italian allies. In that contention, lives were sacrificed in civil brawls, and struggles in the Forum were frequent, till, in the end, the allies took up arms and won by war what the law had refused to give them.

In 87 B.C. the first Mithridatic war broke out. Incident to the beginning of the long Asiatic campaigns came the first civil war, in which Marius and Sulla fought to see which of the two should command in the east; Sulla won, and in three years (87-84 B.C.) reduced the power of Mithridates to his original dominions. While Sulla was away, the Marian party once more raised its head, and by war succeeded in forcibly overturning the government. In 83 B.C. Sulla returned from the east, and again civil war devastated Italy; once more the optimates succeeded to power, and then Sulla confirmed the power which his sword had won for his party by a series of constitutional reforms which he instituted while he held the office of perpetual dictator.

In the whole period, the most significant fact is this: Roman citizens had come to regard the field of battle, and not the Forum, as the place where they should settle their constitutional differences.

TOPICS

**Suggestive
topics**

- (1) Was it constitutional to reelect Marius to the consulship in the manner described? To what was such procedure bound to lead?
- (2) What powers did Marius, Glaucia, and Saturninus exercise as consul, prætor, and tribune respectively? (3) Why were the rabble and the Senate opposed to granting the privileges of citizenship to the Italians? (4) What preparation had the Romans for such a law as that proposed and carried by Sulpicius? (5) What was the real force back of Marius and Sulla while each was in control of the city? (6) With what event of more modern times in France would you compare the proscriptions of Marius and Sulla? (7) Toward what was the election of Sulla to perpetual dictatorship a step? (8) What were the powers and duties of censors, quæstors, tribunes, consuls, prætors, proconsuls, and

proprætors before the reforms of Sulla? (9) What is a curule office? (10) Why had Gracchus given the equites the judicial powers of the Senate? Did it accomplish what it was intended to? Was Sulla justified in undoing the act of Gracchus?

(11) The privileges of Roman citizenship. (12) Sallust's characterization of Jugurtha. (13) Adventures of Marius. (14) Character of Sulla. (15) Complaints of the Italians. (16) Sulla's reforms.

Search
topics

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work

CHAPTER XXX.

POMPEY AND CÆSAR : THE PASSING OF THE REPUBLIC (79-56 B.C.)

SULLA was scarcely laid in his grave when the interminable fight between the optimates and populares was renewed. In **385. War with Sertorius in Spain (79-72 B.C.)** the year of Sulla's death, the consul Lepidus, a magistrate of Sulla's creation, deserted his own party and assumed the leadership of the populares. With a hastily gathered army, he marched on Rome; but before long he was completely defeated and forced to fly to Sardinia, where he died.

Lepidus bequeathed the few followers who still stood by him to Quintus Sertorius, who was at the moment maintaining a vigorous war against the optimates in Spain. Sertorius, according to all accounts, was a man far above most of his contemporaries in chivalry, in love of liberty, in military skill, and in ability as an organizer. In the days when Sulla was destroying his political enemies, Sertorius had escaped to Spain, and there, by his uniformly just treatment of the natives, had drawn about him a considerable army. From 79 to 72 B.C., with the aid of his native allies and the remnants of the Marian party which gathered about him, he maintained a most unequal struggle against the forces of the republic.

After two years of unsuccessful war, in 77 B.C. the Senate appointed to take the field in Spain Gnaeus Pompeius, or Pompey, a young and vigorous commander, who had already won laurels in the civil wars and a triumph for a war in Africa. Still, Sertorius maintained the unequal fight for four years longer. When arms and men were wanting, cunning

and strategy supplied their place, and, with all his ability, Pompey could do nothing against such an enemy.

But good fortune attended him now as in most later crises of his life; Sertorius was killed by one of his own followers, and the rebellion soon succumbed.



"POMPEY."
Palazzo Spada, Rome.

In 73 b.c. some fifty or a hundred slaves escaped from a gladiatorial school in Capua, where men were trained for combats in the arena, and under the leadership of a Thracian named Spartacus, made their way to the mountain fastnesses of Vesuvius. A host of runaway slaves and discontented freedmen soon gathered about them, and what at first seemed to the Romans but an insignificant affair soon became a serious menace to the safety of the republic. Army after army was defeated, and the Roman state was at its wits' end, till disunion and discontent divided the ranks of the insurgents.

In 71 b.c. Marcus Licinius Crassus, a knight who had won fame and fortune in the civil wars, finally succeeded in entrapping the slaves in Bruttium; and after a desperate

Pompey and his legions landed in Italy in 71 b.c.Flushed with the victories which they had won in Spain, they were just in time to add to the glory of their commander by aiding in the extermination of the last remnants of a slave insurrection which had been terrorizing Italy for two

^{386. Gladiatorial war (73-71 B.C.)}

struggle, the army of Spartacus was totally defeated. Then followed a ruthless man hunt: the remnants of the slave army, caught between the legions of Crassus and Pompey, were slaughtered one by one, and before the legionaries relinquished the chase, six thousand crucified slaves lined the Appian Way from Rome to Capua.

Pompey and Crassus now entered Rome expecting honors and offices as their reward, but the Senate refused to act

387. Con-
sulship of
Pompey and
Crassus
(70 B.C.) because it was frightened by the growing power of the two leaders. Thereupon, both men, who had never been very closely attached to the optimates, unhesi-

tatingly threw in their fortunes with the populares; and as a result, the two were elected consuls for the year 70 b.c., with the understanding that they should influence legislation in favor of their associates. In a single year, nearly all the reforms of Sulla were abolished: the tribunes were restored to their old powers; the law courts were again opened to the knights; the censorship was restored; and other laws were enacted which again established the rule of the populares. Thus in less than ten years the whole fabric which Sulla had built went to pieces, simply because the optimates did not know how to profit by the advantages which they had gained.

The coalition between Pompey and Crassus fell apart with the restoration of the democracy. Pompey desired supreme

388. War
with the
pirates
(67 B.C.) power, but did not dare to take it, and for three years he retired from politics. In 67 b.c. affairs in the east, which had long been in confusion, became so serious that extraordinary measures were necessary. From the beginning, the republic had never provided an adequate naval force to police the seas, and in consequence piracy and freebooting became the habitual occupation of thousands of men, from Spain to Syria. "They carried off the wealthier citizens to their havens of refuge and held them for ransom."

*Appian,
Mithridatic
Wars, xiv.
92*

They scorned the name of robbers, and called their takings the prizes of war. . . . They likened themselves to kings, rulers, and great armies. . . . They built ships and made all kinds of arms. . . . They had castles and towers and desert islands and retreats everywhere." In short, they felt that they had attained to the dignity of an organized state, since they had fortified centers in Cilicia and Crete.

Rome had made one or two sporadic efforts to suppress these pirate communities, but down to 67 B.C. no results had been attained. In that year a law was passed conferring upon Pompey, for three years, supreme command over the entire Mediterranean and all the coasts for fifty miles inland, with unlimited power to raise armies and fleets, to appoint lieutenants, and to govern as he pleased.

Though the law was a military necessity, it rang the death knell of the republic; for by it Pompey was made military dictator of the Roman world. From this time on, the regular magistrates became puppets in the hands of the commanders in the field, who set them up and deposed them as they pleased.

Pompey at once set to work. "At the end of the winter," says Cicero, "he had made his preparations; with the coming of spring, he set out; and by the middle of the summer, he had terminated this most important war." In less than three months, Cilicia, Crete, and the other pirate strongholds were in Pompey's hands, thirteen hundred vessels were captured, the coasts and islands were freed from the danger of annual raids, and ships could once more go and come in complete safety.

After this short campaign, Pompey rested in Cilicia. North of him, in the provinces of Asia and Bithynia and in the dependent kingdoms, war with Mithridates was again on foot. For several years, the war had been in the hands of Lucullus, a man of exceptional military ability; but by his unfortunate temperament and by the extreme severity of his

*Cicero, For
the Manili-
an Law,*
xii.

**389. War
with Mith-
ridates (66-
63 B.C.)**

dealings with soldiers and civilians, he neutralized nearly every victory which he won. When Pompey came into that part of the world, the power of Mithridates, and his ally, the king

of Armenia, was still unbroken ; and every one was clamoring for a change in the command.

What more natural, under the circumstances, than that Pompey should

be appointed to succeed Lucullus ? Assuming control in 66 B.C., in one campaign Pompey utterly routed Mithridates, drove him north into Crimea, and subjugated Tigranes, king of Armenia. For another two or three years, Mithridates continued to plot and intrigue against Rome ; but in the end discontent and rebellion accomplished his ruin. He was hounded from place to place by his son, Pharnaces, and finally took poison and died, with none about him to do him honor. Thus perished the man who for thirty years had been the gravest menace to Roman dominion in the east.

Meanwhile, Pompey was carrying on a war in Syria, where rebellions and civil dissensions had left to the descendants of

390. Conquest of Syria Antiochus the Great nothing but the semblance of their power. Pompey made short work of the wrangling factions

which had made the land their prey ; from Phœnicia on the north to Judea on the south, the land was conquered and annexed to Rome. Then Pompey turned his attention to the north once more. Marching into Pontus, he made a settlement with Pharnaces and his other enemies, by which Rome became undisputed mistress throughout the region.

Thus in less than three years Pompey destroyed the pirates, defeated Mithridates, and conquered Syria. In that time he added to the empire more territory than any Roman had ever conquered before : Cilicia in the south, a large part of Pontus



COIN OF MITHRIDATES.

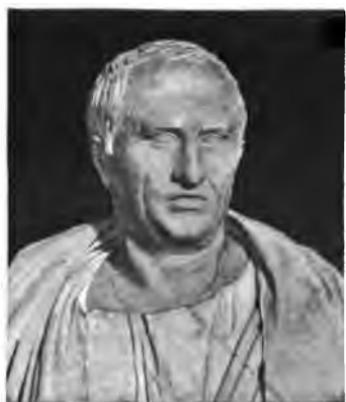
in the north, and Syria were now directly under Roman rule.

While Pompey was fighting in the east, the government at home had fallen nominally to the optimates; but all power had long since passed from their hands. All that was left to them was the petty pickings which a province here and there offered to the rapacity of the decadent nobles. So weak was the government that it approached the verge of ruin from a band of conspirators who plotted to overturn the state and make themselves rulers of the city. The leader of this movement was Lucius Sergius Catilina, "a man of noble birth and of eminent mental and personal attainments, but of a vicious and depraved disposition, whose delight from his youth had been in civil commotions, in bloodshed, robbery, and sedition."

391. Consulship of
Cicero (63
B.C.)

*Sallust,
Catiline, v.*

When news of the proposed revolution was brought to the ears of the nobles, they were in a panic. Fortunately for the republic, there arose at this moment a man capable of coping with the danger. This man, Marcus Tullius Cicero, was a native of Arpinum, a Latin town which fifty years before had given Marius to Rome. Coming to Rome as a young man, Cicero had gradually worked his way to the top, till in 63 B.C. he had reached the consulship. Thenceforward, for twenty years, he was one of the most prominent figures in Roman politics. "Since,"



CICERO.

Capitoline Museum, Rome.

says a modern writer, "in existing parties he did not find any which exactly corresponded to his convictions, and

*Boissier,
Cicero and
his Friends,
p. 46*

which altogether suited his disposition, he had no other recourse than to form one for himself. . . . He sought to create a new party composed of the moderate men of all parties, of which he was to be the head." He failed in a well-thought plan, because the republic was so near its end that men fighting for its preservation were foredoomed to failure. The whole life of Cicero was devoted to a losing cause, and therefore his influence on politics was always less than was due to his high character and sterling worth.

Of the conspiracy of Catiline, little need be said: through the vigilance and vigor of Cicero it was disarmed; Catiline was forced to flee from the city, his companions in crime were apprehended and put to death, and a few weeks later he and his armed forces were met and defeated in the north. Catiline was killed in battle, his army was dispersed, and thus the conspiracy died almost as soon as it was born.

In 61 B.C. Pompey finally landed in Italy. For two years he had been lingering in the east, anxious for still higher

392. Formation of first triumvirate (60 B.C.) honors, but too timid to return to Rome and take them. His landing was the signal for great uneasiness on the part of all factions: the aristocrats hated him; the democrats feared him; and the knights, who had no interest in politics save the opportunity that the state afforded them for making money, distrusted this man who might cut off all their opportunities; only his veterans were ready to support him with their swords.

Pompey speedily entered the city and laid before the citizens his demands: he wished to be consul for the next year; he expected the confirmation of his acts in the east which as yet had no constitutional sanction; he wanted homesteads for his veterans. Against all these demands, the Senate stood firm; and since the nobles refused to give him what he wanted, he turned, as he had done ten years before, to the popular party, and the result was the formation of the first triumvirate.

CICERO DENOUNCING CATILINE IN THE SENATE.

(Painting by C. Macarri.)



The leader of the day in the popular party was one of the greatest men of all time, Gaius Julius Cæsar. His character and career will be revealed as we proceed; already he showed an astuteness and a political shrewdness far beyond the gifts of an ordinary politician. Cæsar drew Crassus into the combination as a man who had immense influence among the knights, and entered into a compact with Pompey whereby the three men should become absolute masters of the state.

Each triumvir was to benefit from the coalition in proportion to his contributions to the alliance. For the military support which his veterans could give, Pompey was to have his acts in the east confirmed and was to have lands appropriated for the use of his veterans. For his wealth and influence with the knights, Crassus was to have all the opportunities which the triumvirate could furnish for augmenting his fortune. For his influence with the masses, Cæsar was to be elected consul for the year 59 b.c., with the promise of several provinces as proconsul in the following year.

Each part of the bargain was systematically carried out: offices and favors were distributed absolutely at the will of the triumvirs; the Senate and the magistrates were disregarded; the whole Roman world was, for the moment, at the mercy of the three men.

After his year as consul, Cæsar proceeded, in 58 b.c., to his new provinces of Illyricum, Cisalpine Gaul, and Gallia

393. Conquest of Gaul (58-52 B.C.) Narbonensis or Narbonese Gaul. That very year witnessed a tumultuous movement of the central European tribes, which like the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones threatened to overwhelm the transalpine provinces. Cæsar was ready to meet it; in one summer, he checked the migration of the Helvetians who were pouring into the Roman dominions from their homes among the Alps; and then utterly routed the Suevi, a German tribe who lived still farther to the

north. The next two years Cæsar devoted to the conquest of the Nervii and the Veneti, tribes living in northern and western Gaul; and in the following years he even found time to cross the channel into Britain and to penetrate beyond the Rhine into Germany. In 55 B.C. his command was renewed for five years, with a result which will appear later. In the end, most of the land now known as France submitted completely to Roman control. Only once was there a serious attempt to revolt; that attempt Cæsar put down, and thereafter the land practically never gave the Romans any trouble.

We shall not deal here with the military operations of Cæsar in Gaul during those eight years; though they are among the most brilliant in the world's history, they differ but little from those of any other great commander. The results, however, were so momentous both for the ancient and for the modern world that they must be briefly set forth.

394. Re-
sults of the
conquest

Looking at it from the Roman standpoint, Cæsar had carried the boundaries of the empire to the western ocean and the North Sea; he had annexed to the empire a new land as fertile as any which Rome had hitherto possessed — a land from which wealth was to be drawn for many generations to come. From the modern standpoint, a much more important result was that the conquest, for the first time, gave an opportunity to Romano-Greek culture to spread into the lands of central Europe. Down to Cæsar's time, the world's civilization had been confined to the Mediterranean basin and the lands of the east; by his campaigns, central Europe was opened to the ancient world, and the culture of centuries was introduced for the first time into the western lands beyond the borders of the Mediterranean Sea. It is not a stretch of the truth, therefore, to say that the conquests of Cæsar are the first link in the chain which binds the ancient to the modern world.

In the year of Sulla's death (79 B.C.) the Hydra of revolution appeared once more. In Italy, the attempt to overthrow the optimates failed; in Spain, under Sertorius, the attempt came much nearer to being successful. Not till Sertorius was murdered did the danger pass. Even then the rule of the optimates lasted only ten years; in 70 B.C., by combining with the populares, Pompey and Crassus completely restored the democracy; but by this time the nominal democracy was hardly more than a tool in the hands of military leaders.

In 67 B.C. Pompey once more assumed command of an army. In three years he subdued the pirates, conquered Mithridates, overran Syria, and reasserted Rome's dominion over the east. On his return to Rome, he threw in his fortunes with Crassus and Cæsar, and the coalition known as the first triumvirate was established. By the terms of the agreement, Cæsar was sent into Gaul in 58 B.C., and in the eight years which he spent in the province he completely conquered the land, and added to the Roman dominion what, from a modern point of view, are the most important provinces in the entire Roman world.

The thing which stands out most prominently in the whole period is that nothing but the shell of the old republic remained; in reality, all power had passed into the hands of one or two preëminent military leaders. In the next chapter, we shall see how the struggle for supremacy narrowed down, till one man, and one man only, wielded the entire power of the mighty Roman world.

TOPICS

Suggestive
topics

- (1) What does the rebellion of Sertorius show about the condition of parties in the republic? (2) What does the defection of Pompey from the optimates to the populares show about the motives of the Roman leaders at this time? (3) What were the principles of the optimates and populares, and which social classes belonged to each? (4) Was the enormous power of Pompey a novelty or a natural

development? (5) What is the difference between a consul and a proconsul? (6) Was the triumvirate contrary to the principles of the Roman republic? (7) Was the renewal of Cæsar's command for five years legal? (8) Can you think of any other results of Cæsar's conquest of Gaul besides those given in the book?

(9) A sea fight. (10) Gladiatorial shows. (11) Ancient pirates. (12) Cicero's invectives against Catiline. (13) Cæsar's youth. (14) Cæsar's account of the Gauls. (15) Cæsar's expeditions to Britain.

Search topics

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Illustrative works

CHAPTER XXXI.

CÆSAR AND POMPEY: THE FIGHT FOR SOLE DOMINION (58-44 B.C.)

POMPEY, according to the terms of the agreement entered into when the first triumvirate was formed, was supposed to be in control of affairs in Rome. Whatever may be said of his ability as a general, even his most ardent admirers can scarcely claim for him any skill as a politician; he was as inexpert in civil affairs as Marius, though a much more cultured man. The followers of the coalition fell away, day by day, till in 56 B.C. it seemed as though the optimates would regain control of the city.

396. Conference at Lucca (56 B.C.)



CÆSAR.

British Museum.

opportunities for wealth and military glory seemed to be great.

At this juncture, Cæsar, the most consummate politician of his time, acting from his province of Cisalpine Gaul, called his colleagues to a meeting in the town of Lucca. By this time most men in Rome already recognized in Cæsar the coming master, and many nobles and knights flocked to take part in the conference. The triumvirs met and again apportioned the empire. Cæsar was to continue in command in Gaul for five years, and then was to be elected consul; Pompey and Crassus were to be consuls for the year 55 B.C., and then, as proconsuls, the former was to hold the two provinces of Spain, while the latter was to govern Syria, where

Every step in the programme was again carried out. The year 55 B.C. passed, and the triumvirs were again in complete control; the storm of opposition which threatened to wreck the coalition in 56 B.C. had ceased for the time. Cæsar returned to Gaul, and Crassus, at the end of his consulship, hurried out to Syria, filled with hopes of glory and plunder to be won in fighting the Parthians in the far east. Pompey alone modified his plans: instead of going to his Spanish provinces, he sent out lieutenants called legates to govern for him, while he remained in Italy to watch events in Rome which were now rapidly approaching a crisis.

Notwithstanding the apparent tranquillity which marked the years just after the conference at Lucca, the bonds which held the triumvirs together were easily sundered. First, 397. Breach between Cæsar and Pompey Crassus, who had gone to Syria with such high hopes, failed miserably in his campaign; abandoning all prudence, he allowed himself to be enticed far into the wild lands of the upper Euphrates valley, where his army was defeated near the town of Carrhæ, and where he himself met his death. Next, Julia, the sister of Cæsar and the wife of Pompey, died, and with her perished one of the surest bonds between the two remaining triumvirs. The coalition was fast approaching its end; both men still formally acknowledged their obligations to each other, but both were anxious to find some excuse for a rupture. Pompey, especially, was jealous of the renown which his colleague had gained in Gaul, and was afraid that when Cæsar returned to Italy, the city would flock to his standard and forget completely the hero of a hundred battles in the east.

Pompey's first opportunity to show his hostility to Cæsar came in 52 B.C. In those days political clubs, whose chief object was to influence legislation and elections by violence, habitually paraded the streets of Rome, armed from head to foot, fighting with each other, and often attacking unarmed

citizens who had incurred their wrath. The most famous of these bands, those of Clodius and Milo, one day met on the Appian Way. As usual, a fight ensued; Clodius was killed, and the matter at once assumed a serious aspect. For the moment, anarchy ruled the city; no magistrates could be elected, and the mobs ranged the streets at will. Had Pompey's mind been clear as to the exact course which he proposed to pursue, this would have been the time to assume the dictatorship; instead, he hesitated, as he had always done in a political crisis, and thus gave the optimates the chance to take the decisive step.

The oligarchs at last realized that their power was forever gone unless they allied themselves with one or the other of the

398. Alliance of Pompey and optimates two leaders. Marcus Porcius Cato had for several years been the leader of that party. He was the great-grandson of the Cato who lived in the time of the destruction of Carthage, and had been laboring to restore his party to the position which it had enjoyed immediately after the reforms of Sulla. Even he had come to realize that the party must make an ally of either Cæsar or Pompey. With the former, no alliance was possible; consequently, Cato turned to the latter, and Pompey was ready to accept.

After two or three months of anarchy, Cato and Pompey came to an agreement; the Senate elected Pompey sole consul, and he accepted the leadership of the oligarchical party and abandoned his former ally and friend. Henceforth, it must be war between the two: on the one side stood Cæsar, supported by the populares, who made but little pretense of preserving the ancient republican forms of government; on the other, Pompey and the optimates, striving to save the form of the commonwealth, though they realized that the soul was long since dead.

Endless negotiations, demands and counter demands on both sides, occupied the next two and a half years. Cæsar certainly

showed the greater moderation throughout the period; even so good a republican as Cicero is forced to admit that "our party was eager for war; Cæsar, on the contrary, appeared less inclined than afraid to have recourse to arms."

*Cicero
Letters,
viii. 19*

The violent action of the Senate, which attempted to deprive Cæsar of his provinces, brought on the crisis in 49 B.C. Contrary to the law which forbade a proconsul to enter Italy with his army, Cæsar crossed the river Rubicon, and thus announced to the world that another civil war was about to begin. Confident in the strength of his comparatively few legions which had been hardened by ten or twelve years

399. Beginning of civil
war (49
B.C.)



ROMAN SOLDIERS ON THE MARCH.

of active service in Gaul, he threw down the gauntlet to Pompey and the senatorial party, though they were supported by the power of the rest of the Roman world.

Immediately after crossing the Rubicon, Cæsar invested the town of Ariminum in Umbria. "As soon as Ariminum was taken," says Plutarch, "the gates were thrown wide open, so to speak, to let in war on land and sea. . . . The city of Rome was overrun, as it were, by a deluge, by the

*Plutarch,
Cæsar*

conflux of people flying from all the neighborhood. Magistrates could no longer govern it, nor the eloquence of orators quiet it; it was all but suffering shipwreck by the violence of its own tempestuous agitation." Cæsar marched rapidly south from Ariminum, and defeated such forces as the opposition could send against him. Pompey, who had boasted a few

Plutarch, Pompey months before, "Whenever I stamp my foot in any part of Italy, there will rise up forces enough in an instant, both of horse and foot," was forced to flee before his advancing enemy. Cæsar pursued to the seaport of Brundisium; but since he had no ships to cut off the retreat, Pompey escaped to Greece.

Cæsar now returned to Rome. On the news of his coming, says Lucan:—

Lucan, Pharsalia, iii. 97 ff. "The city with confusion wild was fraught,
And laboring, shook with every dreadful thought.
They think he comes to ravage, sack, and burn;
Religion, gods, and temples to o'erturn."

The terror of the people was speedily relieved, however, for Cæsar was of a different type from Marius and Sulla. His political enemies were forgiven; the city was set in order; all violence and sedition were suppressed. Instead of bringing confusion into Italy and Rome, as his enemies had predicted, he brought order and quiet. This was the gift of Cæsar wherever he went; though he came with the sword, he always left the land better off for his coming.

Two courses now lay open to Cæsar: either he could follow Pompey at once, or he could first attack the republican leaders in the west. He adopted the latter course by sending one of his lieutenants, Curio, into Sicily and Africa, while he himself proceeded against the city of Massilia in southern Gaul, which adhered to his opponents, and against the rival legions in Spain. In his own campaign, Cæsar was completely successful; before the year was over, he was master of all Europe west of the



Adriatic. Sicily also surrendered without a blow; but in Africa, Juba, king of Numidia, supported the republican cause, and by skillful maneuvering succeeded in defeating Curio, who died by his own hand upon the battlefield.

Cæsar returned from Spain, but spent only a few days in the capital; before the winter was more than half over, he started for Greece. Crossing the Adriatic in the face of great dangers, he landed in Illyricum, where, near the town of Dyrrachium, lay the army of Pompey. Cæsar accepted battle and was badly beaten. “After the battle it is reported that Cæsar said, ‘The war would have ended this day in the enemy’s favor, had they had a commander who knew how to make use of a victory!’”

As it was, the lost opportunity of Pompey was Cæsar’s fortune. Undaunted by defeat, he retired into Thessaly to rest and recuperate. Pompey followed, and again the two armies faced each other. The forces of the republican party were eager for battle, though their partisan Cicero says of them, “There was nothing good about them but their cause.” Cæsar’s legions quietly but calmly waited the issue. The next day, the battle was joined on the plains of Pharsalus; though Cæsar was far outnumbered, his legions were completely successful; and this time there was a commander who knew how to make use of a victory. The republican armies were completely annihilated; those who were not killed were incorporated into the legions of Cæsar; the lieutenants of Pompey were scattered to the four corners of the world; and Pompey himself fled to Egypt, where he was treacherously murdered by the orders of the boy king Ptolemy.

“Such was the end of a most honorable and upright man;” says a Roman writer, “such a revolution had fortune made in his condition, that he who lately had wanted the whole earth to conquer, could now scarcely find sufficient for a grave.” Of Pompey and his career, we

401. The
end of Pompey's hopes
(48-47 B.C.)
*Appian,
Civil Wars,*
ii. ix. 62

*Cicero,
Letters,
vii. 3*

*Paterculus,
ii. 53*
402. An
estimate of
Pompey

may say a few words more. In the language of Mommsen:
Mommsen, bk. v. ch. I "He was neither a bad nor an incapable man, but a man thoroughly ordinary; created by nature to be a good sergeant, called by circumstances to be a general and a statesman. An intelligent, brave, experienced, and thoroughly excellent soldier, he was still, even in his military capacity, without trace of any higher gifts. . . . In the tumult of battle he faced the enemy fearlessly; in civil life he was a shy man, whose cheek flushed on the slightest occasion. . . . For nothing was he less qualified than for a statesman."

Hastening after Pompey, Cæsar arrived in Egypt too late to meet his old associate and recent enemy in the flesh; what

403. *Cæsar pacifies the east* his attitude toward Pompey would have been; had Pompey been alive, we can only conjecture. Unless all signs fail, however, he would not have indulged in vindictiveness such as marred the careers of Marius and Sulla; he would probably have treated him with the honor due to a brave but fallen enemy.

Cæsar spent the rest of the year 48 B.C., and part of the following year, in Egypt and Asia Minor, setting the affairs of Egypt in order, and subduing Pharnaces, king of Pontus, who had taken the opportunity of the civil war to rise in revolt.

In 47 B.C. Cæsar returned to Rome, after an absence of two years. Twice more in his life did he take up arms. In 46

404. *End of civil war (46-45 B.C.)* he was forced to conduct a campaign in Africa against the remnants of the republican party under the leadership of Metellus Scipio and Cato. He made short work of them: he met and defeated Scipio near Thapsus; shortly afterward, Cato took his own life in the city of Utica, not far from the ancient site of Carthage, rather than fall into the hands of the enemy. The following year, Cæsar made his last campaign against the sons of Pompey in Spain, where they had gathered the remnants of their father's legions and

a corps of native troops who loved their father well. Here again Cæsar was victorious: he defeated the army of the sons of Pompey at Munda, in southern Spain, and afterward hunted one of them to death. Then the great dictator returned to Rome, master of the civilized world, with not a single organized military force in the whole empire to oppose him.

For one year more, Cæsar continued to rule the Roman world; this brief period, with the few short months which he had spent in Rome in the intervals between his campaigns against Pompey and the republicans, embraces his entire civic career; yet in those months he succeeded in making reforms in the constitution which gave character to Roman history for the next two or three hundred years. The influence of these reforms can be appreciated only if we remember that the imperial institutions which we shall study later owe their conception to the master mind of this one man. He was the first to see clearly that the Roman state was no longer contained within the narrow walls of Rome nor even within the confines of the peninsula of Italy. Henceforth, all parts of the empire were to share with Rome the benefits of the imperial system; Rome was merely to be the capital from which the government should radiate; here the laws were to be made, but everywhere from the Atlantic to the Euphrates, from the North Sea to the African desert, all men were to have equal rights.

405. Cæsar
master of
the Roman
world

As the head of this vast machine, there should sit at Rome a dictator, who, like Cæsar himself, should combine in one person the powers of censor, tribune, and commander of the army. The change was to be accomplished by reducing the power of the Senate and by leaving the assemblies little or nothing to do. In the provinces, taxation was to be reduced, the system of selling the revenues was to be abolished, and a system of imperial tax collectors established. Governors, too, were to be directly responsible to the dictator, and not to

the Senate as of old. As soon as they were ready, the provincials were to be admitted to all the privileges of citizens; thus would the distinction between Italian and provincial disappear. Finally, Italy was to be regenerated by planting colonies, by encouraging farming, and by making the waste places fit for agriculture.



ROMAN POWER IN 44 B.C.

For one brief year, if we except the wars which were going on in the east against the Parthians, the empire enjoyed absolute peace under the wise rule of the dictator. Yet even **406. Death of Cæsar (44 B.C.)** in that year there existed within the city a considerable party whose members could not rest, either because they hated Cæsar personally, or because they still clung to the dream that the Roman republic was not dead, but simply overcome by the will of a new tyrant. Among the leaders of this party were Marcus Brutus and Gaius Cassius, whose names have been immortalized in Shakespeare's tragedy of *Julius Cæsar*.

They succeeded, by careful manipulation, in drawing into the conspiracy some seventy or eighty discontented senators, and then, when all was ready, they determined upon the mur-

der of Cæsar, and fixed the Ides of March (March 15), 44 B.C., as the day when the deed should be done. The plan was carried through: on the day appointed, Cæsar died, pierced by twenty-three wounds.

If, however, these men really expected that the republic would again spring into life, they were soon disabused of the idea. Within a month or two they found that they had simply exchanged a great master for others far less worthy.



THE DEATH OF CÆSAR. (Painting by Rochegrosse.)

Cæsar died the greatest man that Rome ever produced. His life has left an indelible impress upon the world's history in every direction. Equally great as a general, as a statesman, and as a lawgiver, he combined in his one person gifts such as but two or three men in the world's history have possessed. Had he lived to perfect his work, the whole history of the Roman empire might have been different; in his death Rome lost a man such as the ancient world was never to see again.

Mommesen, bk. v. ch. 11 As a German historian says, "Cæsar was the entire and perfect man."

From the conference at Lucca, in 56 B.C., to the battle of Pharsalus in 48 B.C., Roman history is simple; its single motive is the struggle for sole dominion between two men.

407. Summary On the one side stood Pompey, too weak to make his fight alone, and consequently joining forces with the party which still hoped for the reëstablishment of the ancient republic; on the other stood Cæsar, who saw clearly what he wished to accomplish, and advanced steadily toward his goal.

After the battle of Pharsalus, Cæsar was sole master of the empire, though he still had to fight for three years to rid himself of the remnants of the opposition. Then he set himself to reorganize the empire, and it was not his fault that he did not finish this mighty work. The failure was due to those mistaken zealots who still hoped to revivify the corpse of the ancient commonwealth. Nevertheless, the work had advanced so far when Cæsar died, in the year 44 B.C., that it went on under the guidance of other men. The real tragedy of this troubled period is not the assassination of Cæsar, nor even the end of the Roman republic, but the fact that so much bravery, patriotism, and human blood had been spent, and that peace, order, and national unity had not yet been reached.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

- (1) What was the cause of Pompey's failure and of Cæsar's success? (2) Was the Roman government better off under Cæsar than under the optimates? (3) Had Pompey and the optimates conquered Cæsar, would the republic have been restored? Give your reasons. (4) With what man of modern times would you compare Cæsar as to the manner in which supreme power was attained, and as to military and administrative ability? (5) How far back would it have been necessary to begin in order to avoid having such a power as Cæsar? Give your reasons. (6) Compare Cæsar with Marius and Sulla. (7) Why did Cæsar not restore the re-

public? (8) Was Cæsar justified in crossing the Rubicon when he knew that it would bring an end to the republic? (9) Why were the optimates in favor of the republic? How do you account for the fact that the populares supported Cæsar? (10) Why was it possible for Cæsar to bring so many parts of the Roman world under his control so quickly?

(11) The career of Crassus. (12) The Parthians. (13) Political clubs in Rome. (14) The crossing of the Rubicon. (15) Cæsar as a military commander. (16) Greek cities on the northwestern coast of the Mediterranean. (17) Cæsar as a writer. (18) The battle of Pharsalus. (19) Marcus Brutus. (20) Gaius Cassius. (21) The assassination of Cæsar.

Search topics

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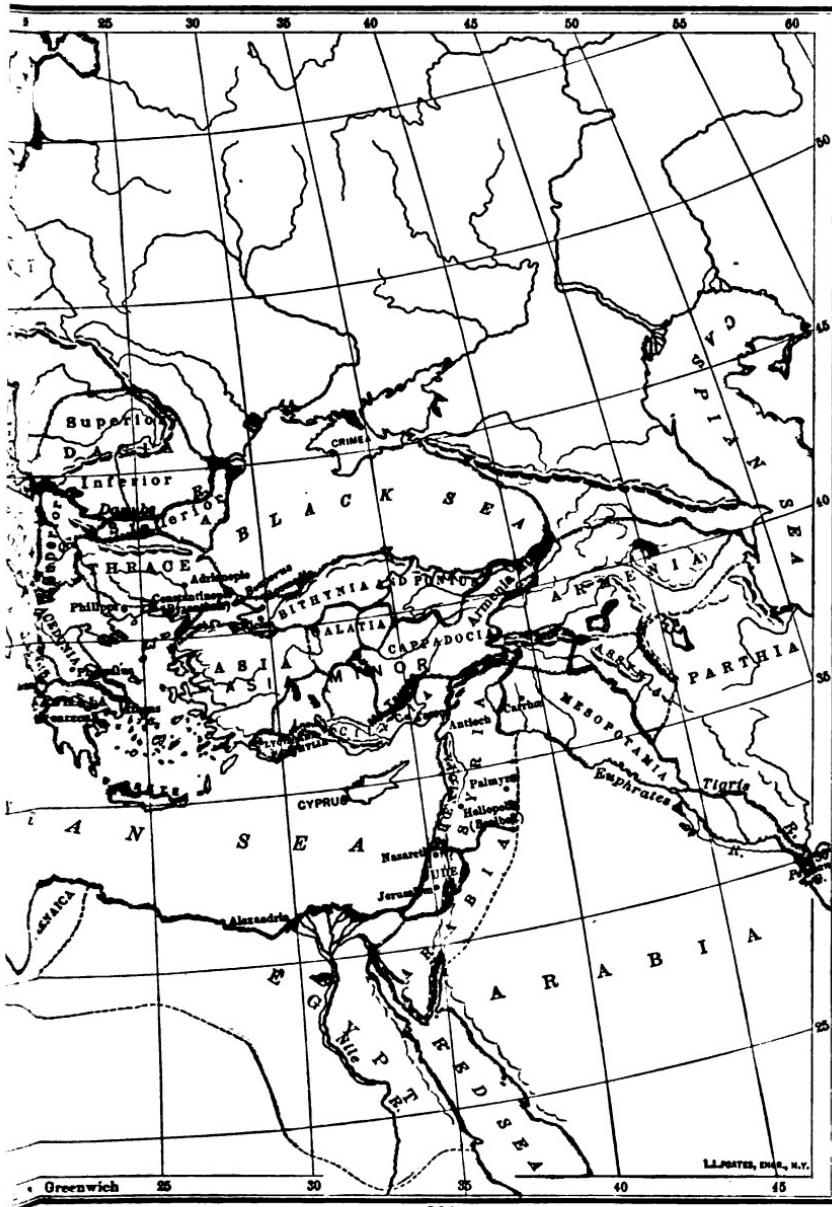
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See chapter xxx. of this book; Shakespeare, *Julius Cæsar*.

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works





CHAPTER XXXII.

THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

CÆSAR's assassins seem to have had no definite plans for the future: no doubt they expected the Romans to rise and pro-
408. Antony claim them as benefactors; but they found to their dis-
successor to Caesar may that the common people had long since lost all
enthusiasm for the republic. The conspiracy accom-
plished nothing for the Liberators, as they were pleased to
call themselves, and left to the state only a heritage of another
decade of civil war.

The first fruit of the murder fell to a friend of Cæsar, Marcus Antonius, or Antony, as he is called in modern times. By using Cæsar's will to his advantage, within a month he had made himself dictator in Rome, and for a short time lorded it over the city in a way that Cæsar had never thought of doing. A new man now appeared on the scene, Gaius Octavius, a youth of less than twenty years, the grandnephew of Cæsar, designated in the dead man's will as heir to his name and fortunes. Octavius at once assumed the name of Caesar, thus declaring to the world that he regarded himself as the successor of the dictator. Antony, however, was already too well intrenched in his position as popular leader for Octavius to hope to assume control of affairs; therefore, he was obliged to make overtures to the senatorial party, and by the end of the year Octavius, the leader of the Cæsarians, and Cicero, the leader of the republicans, were apparently fast friends. This friendship had no solid basis; Octavius, as we shall see, threw over his ally the moment he had established himself

sufficiently to do without his aid; and Cicero was very frank in declaring from the start that "the young man was to be praised, complimented, and got rid of."

Cicero, Letters, xi. 20

The support of Octavius and of the veterans of Cæsar, who had flocked to the standard of the young man, enabled Cicero to begin a vigorous and characteristic attack on the authority of Antony; he poured out in a series of orations known as the *Philippics* from their resemblance to the orations of Demosthenes against Philip, a torrent of invective which acknowledged not one shred of patriotism in the man who had dared to erect a new tyranny on the ruins of Cæsar's power. Such violence did no good; it was in the field and not in the Forum that the final struggle must be fought out. Late in the year 44 B.C. the forces of the republican party, led by the two consuls and Octavius, met Antony in battle at Mutina in Cisalpine Gaul and defeated him.

409. Octavius fights for control

The two consuls were killed in the struggle, and thereupon Octavius demanded as the reward for his aid that the consulship for the unexpired term should be bestowed upon him. When the Senate hesitated, lest they should simply be putting another tyrant in the place of the one who had just been defeated, there came a significant and decisive hint, thus described by a contemporary: "A centurion, who had come at the head of a delegation to make the request in the name of Octavius, throwing back his cloak and showing the hilt of his sword, had the presumption to say in the Senate House, 'This will make him consul if you will not.'"

*Suetonius,
Augustus,
xxvi.*

The Senate could make but one reply to the argument of force, which had long since become the only effective argument in Rome. Octavius was granted the consulship, and thus he, and not Antony, gained the advantage of official and legal position. Yet so long as Antony had an army, he was still a factor in Roman affairs; for after his defeat at Mutina, he had marched across the Alps and joined forces with Lepidus

in Transalpine Gaul; and speedily the two allies appeared in Cisalpine Gaul once more.

Early in 43 B.C. Octavius marched north to encounter Antony and Lepidus; before trying the argument of arms, the three

- 410. The second triumvirate formed (43 B.C.)** men met on a small island in a river near Bononia (Bologna). There they agreed to cease their warfare and to divide all the lands and all the power of the Roman empire. From Bononia, the three new associates, known henceforth as the second triumvirate, marched south to take possession of the city of Rome. Once more the methods of Marius and Sulla were resorted to; once more proscription lists were posted in the Forum, and "straightway, . . . wherever the victims happened to be found, there were sudden arrests and murders in various forms, and decapitations for the sake of the rewards when the heads should be shown."

Appian, *Civil Wars*, iv. 3, 13 Among the victims was Cicero, who now paid for his opposition to Antony with his life. His last days are the only ones which merit our sincere admiration: earlier he had shifted from side to side, mainly because he had never known his own mind; from the day of Cæsar's death, he had stood firmly for the cause of the republic, and though we now recognize that the cause was unworthy, we may still admire the man who fought for it sincerely. Like Demosthenes, to whom he loved to compare himself, Cicero took the losing side; like him, he paid for his bitter words with his life.

- By vigorous proscriptions and by a judicious distribution of the spoils, the triumvirs speedily made their position in Italy secure. Then they turned their attention to their enemies in the east, whither Cassius and Brutus and many of the other conspirators had fled, and where they had been collecting a formidable army for over a year. Lepidus was



COIN OF LEPIDUS.

left behind to look after Italy and the west. In Thrace, near Philippi, Antony and Octavius met the armies of Brutus and Cassius, and in two battles completely defeated them (42 B.C.). Both the republican leaders died by their own hands on the battlefield, and thus the hopes of their party came to an end.

For full three quarters of a century the republic had been slowly dying; many times it had seemed that life was extinct; each time it had revived; but at last the great and powerful oligarchy was overthrown. With all its shortcomings, it had accomplished a splendid task: it had added vast territories to the Roman domain; it had furnished a long line of statesmen and generals; it had prepared the way for the wonderful imperial organization which followed. If the history of the decay of the republic is a melancholy story, the history of its conquests is no less a stirring romance.

From the day of the battle of Philippi, it was only a question of time when one or the other of the two victors would become sole master of the empire. Already Lepidus had become little more than a name in the triumvirate; and Octavius and Antony calmly divided the empire between them, giving scarcely a thought to his claims.

412. Partition of the empire

In the division, Octavius received the west; here one or two minor revolts were easily suppressed, and then the young Cæsar was allowed to sit quietly for a time and enjoy what his sword had won. In less than two years, he had grown from an obscure boy of nineteen to one of the most powerful men in the world.

In the east, which had been assigned to Antony, the problems were more serious, for many of the followers of Brutus and Cassius were still in arms. Antony might easily have conquered them, had he not fallen a victim to the wiles of Cleopatra, queen of Egypt. "From the moment that he met her, Antony's interest in public affairs began to dwindle. Whatever Cleopatra ordered was done, regard-

Appian,
Civil Wars,
v. 1, 9

less of laws, human or divine." Like an obedient slave, Antony followed her to Alexandria, and abandoned himself to a life of slothful idleness.

Though it angered Octavius that Antony should have fallen so completely into the hands of the Egyptian queen, nevertheless

**413. End
of the
struggle** less it fell in well enough with his plans; sooner or later he hoped to be sole master of the empire; and this faithlessness of his colleague gave him an easy opportunity to pick a quarrel. Several times in the next decade, the two men came to the verge of war, but each time their differences were composed and the alliance was continued, till, in 32 b.c., the storm finally broke.

For a year the two parties maneuvered; and then, in 31 b.c., they met in a naval battle off Actium on the west coast of Greece. Antony and Cleopatra (who was present at the battle) were completely defeated. In the midst of the battle, Cleopatra's squadron ran away, and, like the slave that he was, "Antony *Paterculus*, chose rather to be the companion of a flying queen than *ii. 85* of a fighting soldiery; and the general, whose duty it had been to punish deserters, became himself a deserter from his own army."

The battle of Actium really ends the last of the civil wars



CLEOPATRA.

From a painting on slate found at Tivoli, Italy.

which marked the decay of the republic. Antony and Cleopatra retired into Egypt and there kept up a feeble resistance; but when Octavius arrived in Egypt next year, he found the task of dispersing their forces easy. Within the year, both Antony and Cleopatra were dead, and then Octavius might regard himself as sole emperor.

Octavius returned to Rome in January, 27 b.c., after an absence of four years, and laid at the feet of the Senate all the extraordinary powers which he had exercised since he became a member of the second triumvirate. Apparently he was ready to assume an undistinguished place as one among all the senators; in reality, both he and every other Roman citizen knew that what he resigned would immediately be conferred upon him again; Octavius had no intention to revive the republic: all that he wished was the sanction of the constituted authorities for the new powers which he was about to assume. Immediately upon his resignation, the Senate conferred upon Octavius, henceforth known as Augustus, the various functions which he had just surrendered. Thus was the legal foundation laid for what we shall henceforth know as the Roman empire.

414. New
imperial
government



AUGUSTUS.

Vatican, Rome. Executed about 15 b.c. The emperor is addressing his troops.

The theory of the new imperial government was complicated, yet the key to the situation lies in one fact, which should be thoroughly mastered: ostensibly, the old republic was never abolished, so that in theory the power of Augustus

and his immediate successors was the gift of the republican Senate; in reality, whatever power the emperor wanted, the Senate was compelled to grant him, because it knew that there stood behind him the entire military force of the empire.

First the Senate conferred upon him the honorary titles of *Augustus* (the Renowned), by which he was henceforth known,

415. Power and of *princeps*, the prince or first citizen in the state.

of the emperor Furthermore, he was made *pontifex maximus*,—chief

priest and religious arbiter in Rome,—and also *imperator*, commander-in-chief of all the Roman armies, by which title all the later emperors were known. Next, he was invested with the proconsular imperium, that is, he became governor in all the provinces which he cared to take under his personal rule. Finally, he was given the authority of a perpetual tribune, and thus by the exercise of his veto he could control all elections and all action in the legislative bodies.

These titles and powers, which in theory were the revocable gift of the Senate, made their possessor absolute master of the government. Though the fiction of the republic was maintained, though all the magistrates were elected every year, though all the powers of the emperor were carefully concealed under this elaborate system of legal fictions, the supreme master in Rome was Augustus, and Augustus alone.

In the last days of the republic, the administration of the Roman domains had completely broken down: Italy had been

**416. Organ-
ization of
the empire** allowed practically to shift for itself; and the provinces, as we have seen, were organized merely for the plunder

which the governors could extract from them. From the establishment of the empire, all this was changed. Rome, Italy, and the provinces were all carefully organized.

Within the city there were three special officers—the *praefectus urbis*, a sort of mayor, the *praefectus vigilum*, a chief of fire and police, and the *praefectus annonae*, the warden of

the grain supply for distribution among the citizens — besides a number of petty officers. Italy beyond the city was divided into eleven administrative districts, each under the charge of a special officer. The provinces were divided into two classes: the senatorial provinces, in which the governors were elected by the Senate; and the imperial provinces, which the Senate had conferred upon the emperor, and which were ruled by imperial legates. Over all the emperor exercised a direct control, and gradually peace and prosperity revived, especially in the provinces, till the name of Rome came to be blessed instead of execrated in the ancient world.

Augustus depended to some extent upon the aid which the Senate could give him in the government of the empire, but much more upon the vigor and ability of subordinates personally attached to him. Hence in time there grew up an extensive retinue of imperial servants who administered the empire in the name of their master and practically disregarded the authority of the Senate. Among these imperial servants of Augustus, two were preëminent: Agrippa and Mæcenas. The former, a school friend of Augustus, an active and resourceful man, devoted his whole life to the advancement of his master's fortunes, and supplied the military talent which Augustus lacked. Mæcenas, a lover of ease and luxury in private life, and a friend to many of the literary men of his day, in his public capacity was a clever, shrewd diplomat, who won his way by tact and courtesy where other men failed because of their clumsiness.

When Augustus became emperor, the Roman dominions extended from the eastern extremity of Asia Minor westward to the Atlantic; from the North Sea southward to Sahara. A glance at the map will show that the empire could be extended farther in only two directions: to the north and to the east. The east was blocked by the Parthians, who had been a source of trouble to the Romans since the days

417. Agents
of the em-
peror

418. The
Elbe and
Danube
frontier

of Pompey, and against them Augustus was content to maintain his frontier intact without carrying on active war. On the north, Augustus strove to extend his frontier to the line of the Elbe and the Danube.

To accomplish this great purpose the emperor's two stepsons, Tiberius and Drusus, both able commanders, were assigned to



THE PANTHEON OF AGRIPPA, ROME.

Supposed to have been a "temple to all the gods."

the armies of the north. Tiberius speedily conquered the hostile tribes along the southern banks of the Danube, and established three important provinces: Pannonia, Noricum, and Mœsia. Drusus had a much more difficult task; but he fought on bravely against the tribes northeast of the Rhine till he died (9 B.C.), when Tiberius was transferred to complete his

Paterculus task. Soon the conquest was finished. "The whole extent of Germany was traversed by our army," says Pater-

culus, "nations were conquered that were almost unknown to us by name. . . . In short, what had never before been hoped for, much less attempted, was accomplished; the Roman army carried its standards to the distance of four hundred miles from the Rhine to the Elbe."

Had Tiberius remained in Germany, the country might have been thoroughly Romanized; but he was withdrawn, and Varus, an utterly incompetent man, was sent into Germany in his stead. The half-conquered Germans completely deluded Varus, and "at length lulled him into such a feeling of security that he fancied himself a city *prætor* dispensing justice in the Forum, instead of a commander of an army in the middle of Germany."

419. Loss of Germany

Paterculus, ii. 118

Varus's lack of judgment speedily brought about one of the most crushing disasters that ever befell the Roman arms. The Germans broke out into open revolt, and under the leadership of Hermann, one of their chiefs, succeeded in drawing Varus into an ambush in the Teutoburg forest, where they defeated him so completely that only a remnant of his army returned to Gaul to tell the tale (9 A.D.). The battle of the Teutoburg forest practically settled for all time the northern frontier of the empire; though the Romans returned to the attack some years later, they never succeeded in regaining a foothold beyond the Rhine. From this time forward, the Rhine and not the Elbe was the recognized frontier between the Roman and the German.

The wars of Augustus were after all less important than his works of peace. In his memoirs, the emperor boasts that "Janus Quirinus, which it was the purpose of our fathers to close only when there was peace throughout the empire on land and sea won by victory, and which before I was born, from the foundation of the city, is reported to have been closed but twice in all, the Senate three times ordered to be closed while I was Princeps." Augustus

420. Era of peace and contentment

Deeds of Augustus, iii.

was not idle during these periods of peace; year after year he devoted large sums of money to the erection of magnificent buildings, to the reconstruction of public works, and to the *Suetonius, Augustus, xxix.* adornment of the city. "He boasted, and not without reason," says Suetonius, "that he found the city built of brick, but left it built of marble."

Much of this activity was possible only because trade and commerce flourished. Friendly relations were maintained with the races of the farthest corners of the known world; Augustus *Deeds of Augustus, xxxi.* himself speaks of embassies "sent to me from the kings of India, a thing never before seen in the case of any ruler of the Romans"; and some of the harbors, moles, and docks which Augustus built are still extant. Thus in the



REMAINS OF A BRIDGE OF AUGUSTUS ON THE RIVER NERA, ITALY.

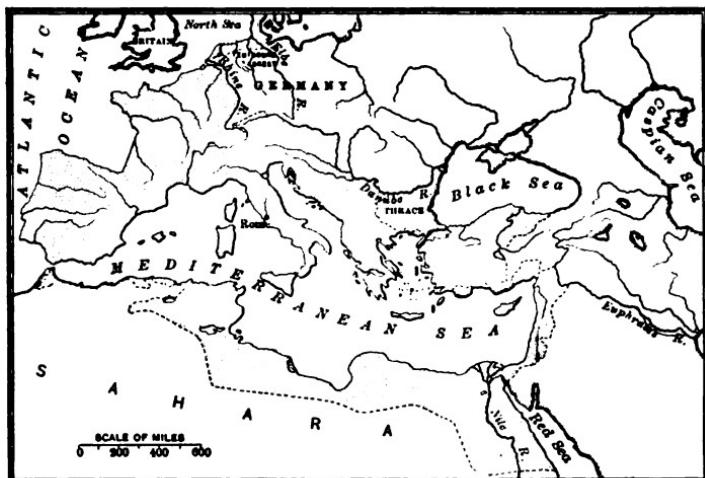
the Romans immortalized his name and placed his image in the house of their gods.

Augustus was succeeded in 14 A.D. by his stepson Tiberius. So far as the government of the provinces was concerned, the

421. Reign of Tiberius rule of Tiberius was but a continuation of the policy of *Suetonius, Tiberius, lxxv.* Augustus. Though the people of the city hated him, though they invoked "the earth, the common mother of all, and the imperial gods to allow him no abode in death but among the wicked," yet the provincials

loved him, for, as Tacitus tells us, "he took care that the provinces should not be oppressed by new impositions; that the exacting burdens should not be rendered intolerable by the rapacity and severity of the magistrates." However he may have treated the impecunious senators who were constantly clamoring for more and more in the way of

*Tacitus,
Annals,
iv. 7*



ROMAN EMPIRE IN 14 A.D.

donatives from the emperor, and were constantly conspiring to revive the corpse of the republic; however he may have treated the rabble who were crying out for more bread and more public shows, he was uniformly considerate in his treatment of the provincials, and they honored him for his justice.

Within the city, conspiracy and treachery were often renewed, and there were loud and constant cries from the hungry populace for more bread. In order to suppress the discontent, Tiberius made the laws for the punishment of treason more and more severe. In ancient Rome there were no public prosecutors like our modern district attorneys, and the emperor allowed private persons, called

422. Dis-
content in
Rome

delators, to bring accusations of treason against any one they pleased, and, in case of conviction, allowed them a certain percentage of the fines. The result can be easily imagined; great injustice was done in the name of the law, and the very mention of the name of the emperor became the signal for the wildest execrations on the part of the citizens. In the end, Tiberius became a morose and savage man; and to avoid the very sight of the city which he hated most bitterly, he with-



CAPREA.

drew to Capreae, in the Bay of Naples, where he spent the last years of his life, intrusting the government entirely to his lieutenants.

The first of these lieutenants was Sejanus, the præfect of the prætorian guards, the personal troops of the emperor. By

423. Præ-
torian con-
spiracies

flattery and chicanery Sejanus raised himself till he had gained almost complete control of the empire; probably he intended to assassinate Tiberius and to rule in his stead; but before he could compass his ends he was

deposed from his office and put to death. Sejanus was succeeded by Macro, who was as faithless as his predecessor, for in the end he aided Gaius, the grandnephew and heir of Tiberius, to hasten the death of his granduncle and to seize the throne.

Tiberius had been cruel toward the citizens of Rome, but at least he had acted from a sense of right and duty. He was succeeded by Gaius, popularly known as Caligula (*Little Boots*), a nickname which his father's soldiers had bestowed upon him because as a child he wore the boots of a Roman legionary. His reign was a nightmare for the citizens of Rome, for he indulged himself in all sorts of caprices, which left the life of no one safe within the city. During four years he abandoned himself to violence and debauchery, which ended only with his death.

Caligula left no heirs. When his death was announced to the Senate, the members, many of whom still cherished the dream that the republic might be resuscitated, began to discuss the feasibility of reestablishing the old form of government. While the Senate was debating, the army was acting: ranging through the palace in quest of booty, they came upon Claudius, an uncle of the dead emperor, and, half in earnest, half in jest, set him up as their candidate for the throne. Naturally the Senate acquiesced, for by this time every Roman understood that the will of the army was the law of the state; and thus was inaugurated the dangerous policy of a military despotism, which from age to age returned to plague the Roman state.

Though Claudius is often spoken of as the imperial fool, his reign is nevertheless notable for his enlightened government of the provinces. He deprived the Roman nobles almost all power in the government of the Roman dominions, and intrusted the administration to his household subordinates, usually freedmen upon whose fidelity

he could rely. The result was wholly beneficial, for the freedmen were either natives of the provinces or descendants of provincials, and therefore thoroughly conversant with the problems of their government. Furthermore, the administration went on irrespective of all court intrigues and scandals, and thus the provinces prospered even when the court was wholly corrupt.



RUINS OF THE CLAUDIAN AQUEDUCT.

The aqueduct built by Claudius was one of twelve which brought the water supply for Rome.

Claudius did more for the provinces than merely to improve their organization, for he revived the idea that the provincial was as good as the Roman, and should be given rights and privi-

Tacitus, *Annals,* ^{ri.-24} leges as fast as he was ready for them. "My ancestors," he says, ". . . furnish me with a lesson which I ought to follow in directing the affairs of the commonwealth. I ought to incorporate into the Roman system everything that is of preëminent merit, wherever found. . . . What else proved the bane of Sparta and Athens, though potent in arms, than

that they treated the conquered as aliens and refused to unite with them?" Under this maxim, he did everything that he could do to break down the barrier between the Roman and the provincial: new provinces were created, among them the southern part of the island of Britain; new conventions were made with dependent kings; and the great protective privilege of Roman citizenship was bestowed upon all who were worthy of the Roman name.

Claudius died in 54 A.D., and was succeeded by his stepson Nero, a descendant of Augustus, who combined the claims of



NERO.
Louvre, Paris.

legitimacy with those of ^{426. Reign of Nero (54-68 A.D.)} military force. By liberal bribes and promises of privileges, he gained the favor of the prætorian guard, and, as Tacitus says, "The voice of the soldiers was followed by the decree of the Senate; nor was there any hesitation in the provinces." During the first eight or ten years of his reign, his conduct was controlled largely by his ministers, Burrhus and Seneca, and all went well; when they died, he abandoned himself to a life of debauchery and extravagance such as the city had not seen since the days of Caligula. All his passions were allowed to run riot, and the Romans were in constant terror, for no man knew what the emperor might do next.

*Tacitus,
Annals,
xii. 69*

In 64 A.D., a great fire devastated the city, and the rumor spread that Nero himself had laid the torch, so that he might rebuild the city to suit his fancy. To appease the citizens,

Nero turned upon the Christians, then just beginning to be noticeable in the city, and fiercely persecuted them. This first persecution of the Christians is an important episode in the history of Christianity, and is treated more fully in a later chapter.

Nero continued in his wanton path for three or four years

427. Revolu- more; then a storm of indignation broke out, and the
tion of emperor paid for his misrule with his life. In the year
68-69 A.D. Tacitus says, "a secret of empire was revealed;
Tacitus, namely, that an emperor could be created elsewhere than
Histories, in Rome." Hitherto, all emperors had practically been
i. 4 the choice of the prætorian guard; now the provincial armies
for the first time conceived the idea that they too might set
up a candidate for emperor. In 68 A.D. Galba, who was
in command of the armies in Gaul and Spain, was pro-
claimed as emperor by his troops, and marched to Rome and
deposed Nero, who fled from the city and ultimately committed
suicide.

Two years of almost complete anarchy followed, which reproduced the conditions of the earlier civil wars. In those years four claimants contended for the throne: Galba, who came out of the west; Otho, who was the choice of the prætorian guard; Vitellius, who commanded the legions in the north; and Vespasian, who was supported by the armies of Syria and the east. In the struggle, many battles were fought and many lives were lost, but the only fact of permanent importance in the history of the two years is that the real power in the empire was shown to be with the army, and that from this time the armies in the provinces were to be as important a factor in the state as the prætorian guard, which up to this time had claimed the exclusive privilege of designating the emperor.

The two years of anarchy ended when Vespasian ascended the throne. With his accession began an era of contentment

which lasted, with but one interruption, for more than a century. Of this happy era we shall learn more in the following chapter.

Cæsar's death was closely followed by the tyranny of Antony; but within the year Octavius appeared. First the two men fought each other at Mutina; then they joined forces in the coalition with Lepidus known as the second triumvirate. In 42 B.C. they destroyed the armies of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi, and thus ended the last hope for the reëstablishment of the republic. Eleven years later (31 B.C.), Antony and Octavius met in battle at Actium; Antony was defeated, and thereafter there was but one lord in the empire,—Octavius. In 27 B.C. the new form of government was formally recognized, and Octavius became Augustus, the head of the Roman world.

Under the new system the fiction of the republic was still maintained, and all the powers that the emperor wielded were carefully concealed under the theory that they had been bestowed upon him as a free-will gift by the Senate. The fiction was gradually exploded by the succeeding imperial elections, for each new emperor took his seat, not by the favor of the Senate, but by the will of the army. The army and not the Senate was the real sovereign; thus the government in reality ceased to be a constitutional régime and became a military despotism.

Yet this great military organism brought comparative peace into the Roman dominions; the old constitutional oligarchy, which we have studied as the republic, had failed to unify the peninsula of Italy and the great world of the provinces beyond; by the time of Vespasian the military monarchy was far advanced in the accomplishment of this work; and in the next century the unification of the Roman world was altogether accomplished. In the words of the modern his-

*Seeley,
Roman
Imperial-
ism, ch. 1* torian Seeley, "After the new system had been permanently settled in the tranquillity of the Augustan age, the great change which had passed over the empire was

found to be this: a standing army had been created and thoroughly organized; a uniform taxation had been established throughout the empire; and a new set of officials had been created, all of a military character, all wielding greater power than the republic had been accustomed to intrust to its officials, but, on the other hand, all subject to the effective and rigorous control of the emperor. In other words, in the place of anarchy, there had come centralization and responsibility."

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

- (1) Why did not the murder of Cæsar restore the republic?
- (2) Where was Octavius when Cæsar was murdered? (3) What was the first triumvirate? Compare it with the second. (4) What were proscription lists? (5) Trace the downfall of the republic step by step. When did it begin? (6) What territories had the republic added to the domain of Rome? (7) Who were the most famous statesmen of the Roman republic? (8) Who were the most famous generals of the Roman republic? (9) Was the empire or the republic better for the Roman world at this time? Give your reasons. (10) Into what conflicts had the Romans and the Germans come before 9 A.D.? (11) Why was it impossible for an emperor to rule in a manner which would be popular in Rome and also in the provinces? (12) What body really determined who should rule Rome during the early empire?

Search topics

- (13) Character of Antony. (14) Queen Cleopatra. (15) The youth of Octavius. (16) Cicero as a statesman. (17) Battle of Philippi. (18) The Pontifex Maximus. (19) The Parthians. (20) The defeat of Varus. (21) The character of Tiberius. (22) Sejanus. (23) Tiberius as a general. (24) The conquest of Britain. (25) Nero in Greece.

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Illustrative
works

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF ROMAN IMPERIALISM

DURING the whole century from the battle of Actium to the fall of Nero, the Roman empire was in process of formation;

429. Re-
sults of
revolution
of 68-69
A.D. when Vespaſian finally established himself upon the throne, in 69 A.D., the empire had assumed a form which

it was to preserve for over two hundred years. There was no longer anything more than the mere pretense of free institutions, or of government by the people; on the other hand, order was maintained, and peace and prosperity blessed the world.

The revolution of 68-69 A.D. established two principles beyond a doubt: first, that the provincial armies, as well as the prætorian guard, might henceforth designate the emperor; second, that family connections were no longer necessary for a man who aspired to the throne; military renown, rather than descent from the Julian or Claudian gens, was now the pre-

Tacitus, Histories, ii. 5 requisite for the office. "Vespaſian himself," says Tacitus, "was an energetic soldier; he could march at



VESPASIAN.
Capitoline Museum, Rome.

the head of his army, choose the place for camp, and by day or night bring his skill, and, if occasion required, his personal courage, to oppose the foe."

Vespasian cared nothing for the gayeties and debaucheries of the court, and after he became emperor the government speedily recovered from the shock of revolution. Still, ^{430. Sup-} he had two serious revolts remaining for him to crush ^{pression of military revolts} after his accession. In the west, a native chief of Gaul, Civilis, had for some years been opposing the forces of the empire; and the legions of Vespasian had to conquer him and to put an end to his pretensions.

The revolt of Civilis was unimportant, however, when compared with the rebellion of the Jews which had begun in 66 A.D. The Jewish war had gone against the Romans in the beginning; but when Nero sent out Vespasian, the revolt was soon crushed out, except in the city of Jerusalem. After the departure of Vespasian the siege of the city was intrusted to his eldest son, Titus; for some time longer the Jews, impelled by the thought that God was fighting on their side, maintained the defense of the city; but step by step they were driven back upon their last defenses, and when internal dissensions had hopelessly weakened them, Titus finally took the city, destroyed the Temple, and carried thousands of the Jews away as captives to Rome (70 A.D.).

The reign of Vespasian begins a new era in the government



ARCH OF TITUS, ROME.

The spoils of Jerusalem are shown on this arch.

of the empire. By 69 A.D. many of the old Roman families, which had clung tenaciously to republican ideals, had become extinct; and their places in the Senate had been taken by families which came originally from the provinces.

431. Era of prosperity begins These new patricians, who owed their position to the good will of the emperor, were in thorough sympathy with his aims, and consequently, from this time forward, if we except the reign of Domitian, the prince and the nobles worked in perfect harmony for the good of the entire Roman world.



RUINS OF THE COLISEUM.

Vespasian was endowed with many of the homely virtues necessary for upbuilding the state after the wild extravagance of Nero. He carefully reorganized the civil government of the empire and adopted new means for putting the finances on a solid basis. Indeed, so careful was he of the revenues of his empire that the historians never tire of telling stories of his sordid economies. However, he used to excellent advantage the money which his tax collectors caused to flow into his treasuries; and the city of Rome owes to him many of its grandest works of art. Only one building, the Coliseum, need be mentioned to show the magnitude of his undertakings;

even to-day its ruins stand as one of the greatest monuments in the world.

In 79 A.D. Vespasian died, and left his crown to his son Titus. Already on return from Jerusalem, Titus had been associated with his father in the government, and consequently the Roman world scarcely knew that one emperor had died and that another had taken his place. Both were anxious to do all they could for the well-being of the empire, and the chief distinction between them was that Titus spent his revenues liberally where Vespasian had hoarded them. When Titus died, after a reign of two years, the world mourned him as the Well-Beloved emperor, because of his many good deeds.

One dramatic catastrophe marks this brief reign: in 79 A.D.

Mount Vesuvius, which for some years had been giving evidences of renewed activity, broke forth and poured down its side a stream of lava which devastated the country lying at its base. In the eruption, the two cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum, filled with the evidences of a prosperous civilization, were buried many feet under the lava and the volcanic ashes. The loss of life and the shock to the Roman world were great; for us, however, the eruption was so far a fortunate occurrence, that it preserved for the excavators of modern times a valuable record of the civilization of the early empire.

The reign of Domitian, the brother of Titus, is noted chiefly for renewed military activity and for the revival within the city of such discontent as marked the reign of Tiberius.



BODY FROM POMPEII.

The Roman legions carried their standards, under the leadership of Agricola, in far Britain, to the borders of modern Scotland. In the country beyond the Danube, Domitian himself attempted to conquer the native tribes; but he was no soldier, and the expedition failed.

Though the historians of his time have little that is favorable to say of him, Domitian was undoubtedly anxious to do his best for the empire. In the provinces he would seem to have succeeded, for throughout his life he was the darling of the provincial armies and residents. In his endeavor to reform the moral tone of the city, however, he failed; the task which he undertook was too great even for so strong a man as his father. In his disappointment and rage, Domitian revived the machinery of oppression, and restored the delations and illegal arrests which had marked the worst days of the reign of Tiberius. In the end, he died a violent death, murdered by his own servants at the command of his faithless wife.

The reign of Domitian, though it lasted for fifteen years, was but an interlude; immediately upon his death, the era of

434. First good feeling which his father had inaugurated began of "Five Good Emperors" again. Domitian left no heirs, and the army for the moment had no candidate to offer; consequently the Senate, which for a good century had not chosen an emperor, once more exercised its constitutional function. Although they selected Nerva, a man already sixty-five years old, the choice was wise, for it tended at once to reconcile all classes of society. From the day of the accession of Nerva, even the most zealous patriots who dreamed of the days of the republic as the period of the greatest glory of Rome, were reconciled to the change. Tacitus, the historian, who looked upon all the earlier emperors as the enemies of liberty, allows that "the emperor Nerva, in the beginning of this glorious era, found means to reconcile two things up

*Tacitus,
Agricola,
iii.*

to this time thought incompatible; namely, civil liberty and the power of a prince."

Beyond this reconciliation, the reign of Nerva is devoid of incident; the old man lived just long enough to designate a worthy successor, Trajan, who had been in high command for some years along the German frontier. Trajan succeeded to the imperial title in 98 A.D. He is the first emperor descended from a family which owed its origin to a country beyond the peninsula of Italy, and his accession is therefore significant as a sign that Rome, Italy, and the provinces were rapidly becoming one. A century before, who would have thought of selecting an emperor outside the great Roman families? A Spaniard now became emperor, and no man raised his voice to question the validity of the succession.

435. Trajan,
first provincial emperor (98-
117 A.D.)

Trajan was, above all things, a great military commander. At the time of Nerva's death, he was with his legions on the borders of Germany; and for a year longer he remained in camp, perfecting the organization of the army and providing for the defense of the frontier. In 99 A.D. he finally came to Rome and assumed the purple robes of office. For two years he remained in Rome, superintending the administration of his government, and then he took the field once more; this time against the Dacians, the tribes beyond the Danube, who had defied the power of the Roman arms in the time of Domitian. For five years or more Trajan carried on a vigorous war and did not rest till he had completely subdued the Dacians and added their lands to the Roman dominions.

436. Wars
and conquests

Still he was not content; year after year he poured Roman colonists, builders, and artisans of every sort into the country; bridges, roads, and fortresses, towns, temples, and baths, grew up on every side, so that within one generation the land was transformed into a completely Romanized province. Thenceforth Dacia, a land more than a thousand miles in circumference, lay as a barrier against the rapidly advancing German

hordes; and the province which Trajan had created stood for a century and a half as a buffer against the northern barbarians.

Trajan now rested for seven years; but in 114 A.D. he took up arms once more and marched against the Parthians, those ancient enemies of the Romans on the eastern frontier. Again his campaigns were successful, and within a year or



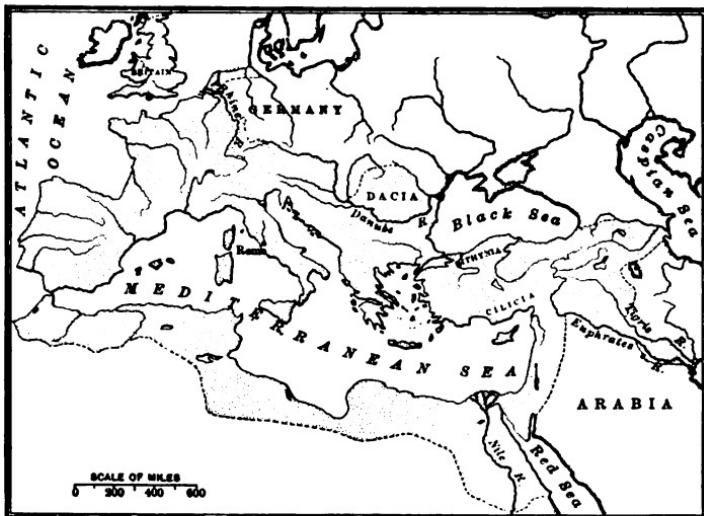
REMAINS OF TRAJAN'S FORUM, AND HIS COLUMN.

On the column are reliefs illustrating events in Trajan's life.

two he had conquered his foes and extended his empire into Armenia and Mesopotamia. In 116 A.D. he even followed the Tigris and Euphrates down to the Persian Gulf. But he was forced to retrace his steps immediately, for the Parthians in his rear were in revolt. One year more he devoted to fighting, and then he died in the province of Cilicia, carrying with him to the grave the distinction of having ruled over a domain greater than that of any other Roman emperor. The power of Rome

was supreme from Scotland to the African desert; from the Atlantic to the country beyond the Tigris.

In the intervals between his wars, Trajan devoted himself assiduously to the administration of his empire. Like all the emperors of this era, he was extremely zealous in his care of Italy and the provinces. Nothing was too trivial for ^{437. Trajan} the administrator of the emperor's notice: questions of water supply, of public improvement, of the correction of minor criminal abuses,



ROMAN EMPIRE IN 117 A.D.

were settled by him personally, as though they were matters of the greatest public importance. All this we know from the official correspondence of the Younger Pliny, Trajan's legate in the province of Bithynia. The great labor of answering all these letters brought no complaint from the emperor; public administration was his duty, and he never failed in his obligation to the people.

Trajan died in Cilicia, far from the city of Rome; yet

Hadrian, whom he had chosen as his successor, ascended the throne without any appreciable opposition. The new emperor

438. Ha- was altogether fitted for the office: in early youth he
drian the had been carefully educated, in his early manhood he
traveler had been carefully trained in the army, and now he set
(117-138 A.D.) about to care for the empire as no man before him had done. He saw at once that the conquests which Trajan had made in the east could do the empire no good, and without hesitation he abandoned to the barbarians the lands beyond the Euphrates. Next he set himself the task of finding out by personal observation the exact condition of every part of his empire. Year after year, he traveled from one province to another, till hardly a section of the empire had been left unvisited.

The capital saw Hadrian but little in the first years of his reign, and the city was none too pleased with this emperor who showed his face so seldom in Rome. Yet his travels bore excellent fruit, for peace and prosperity marked the twenty-one years of his rule; and in his day the old distinction between Rome and the provinces almost entirely disappeared. At last, after more than a century and a half, the ideal of Cæsar was attained; the Roman world was one, and the city of Rome receded to a position where it was no longer mistress of the world, but merely the capital of a vast empire.

Thus at last the Roman world ceased to exist for the exclusive benefit of the imperial city; thus at last the empire was administered for the good of every race and community within its wide extent; peace and contentment were the result of the civilization which had been in creation since the

*Merivale,
History,
ch. lxvi.* dawn of history. "On the whole," says Merivale, "I am disposed to regard the reign of Hadrian as the best of the imperial series, marked by endeavors at reform and improvement in every department of administration and in all quarters of the empire. . . . His defects and vices were

those of his time, and he was indeed altogether the fullest representative of his time, the complete and crowning product,



TOMB OF HADRIAN, ROME.

Now called the castle of St. Angelo; bridge over the Tiber in the foreground.

as far as we can judge, of the crowning age of Roman civilization."

Antoninus Pius, who succeeded Hadrian and ruled for twenty-three years, carried forward the noble work which Hadrian had begun. "History has dealt kindly with the good old man, for it has left his faults fall quietly into the shade, till they have passed away from memory and we know him only as the unselfish ruler, who was rich at his accession, but told his wife that when he took the empire he must give up all else besides. . . . No great deeds are told of him, save this, perhaps the greatest, that he secured the love and happiness of those he ruled."

439. Antoninus Pius
(138-161
A.D.)

*Capes, Age
of the
Antonines,
ch. iv.*

When he passed away, in 161 A.D., the empire had enjoyed an era of over half a century of peace and prosperity, unbroken save by petty wars along the frontier; such an era the ancient world was never to see again. Succeeding ages have immortalized his reign by telling of nothing but the glory of the empire; yet, after all, it was already on the eve of a long and unbroken struggle with barbarian hosts which were slowly making their way down from the forests and marshes of Germany.

Antoninus Pius was succeeded by Marcus Aurelius, the last of the "Five Good Emperors." Though he was a man in every way

440. Begin- the equal of his predecessors, his reign was full of trouble
ning of from beginning to end. Scarcely had he ascended the
decline throne when the wars along the border, which had never
(161-180 really ceased, broke out in all their fury. Along the eastern
A.D.) frontier, the Parthians once more took the offensive, and were forced into submission only after a serious war. In the north, along the upper Danube, the German tribes known as the Marcomanni were also threatening; and the legions which had just returned from the east brought with them a devastating plague which decimated the population of Italy and the west.

To crown the troubles of the time, Lucius Verus, whom Marcus Aurelius had associated with himself as emperor, proved to be an utterly incompetent and vicious man. Fortunately for the empire, Verus soon died and left the administration to Aurelius alone; nevertheless, the trouble with the Marcomanni continued to grow till the emperor himself was forced to take the field, and thenceforth his life was spent almost entirely in the camp. Year after year he marched forth against the barbarians. In 180 A.D. he died in camp on the site of the modern city of Vienna, and with him passed away the period of the greatest glory of the Roman empire.

The century from the accession of Vespasian to the death of Marcus Aurelius is a century of the greatest prosperity in all antiquity. Men were at last content to live under the 441. ^{Summary} imperial government without opposing its head. Even in the reign of Domitian the provinces prospered, though discontent was rife in the city; and from the death of Domitian to the death of Antoninus Pius, all was peace and contentment within the empire. Though Trajan carried the Roman arms into lands far removed from the center of the empire, his wars resulted in nothing but good; and when he died, there began an era of peace such as the ancient world had never known before. The reign of Marcus Aurelius marks a transition to other times; though a man of the same type as Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, he was forced by the growing pressure of the German tribes to spend most of his days in the field. If his reign was less prosperous than those of his predecessors, it was not because of any lack in himself, but because disintegrating forces were already at work within the empire.

TOPICS

- (1) How had Gaul been brought under the control of Rome? ^{Suggestive topics}
- (2) How was Judea acquired by the Romans? (3) With what former emperor can you compare Vespasian? Why? (4) How was Britain brought under the control of Rome? (5) Why was civil liberty an impossibility under the early empire? (6) Why are the "Five Good Emperors" so called? (7) Under what emperor did the Roman empire reach its greatest extent? (8) What kind of provincial government was given to conquered lands during the early empire? (9) Can you assign any reason why emperors such as Domitian, Trajan, and Hadrian were so solicitous in regard to the welfare of the provinces? (10) Compare their attitude in this regard with that of the republic. (11) What are the writings of Marcus Aurelius?
- (12) The praetorian guard. (13) The Roman army in the field. (14) The siege of Jerusalem. (15) The Coliseum. (16) Destruction of Pompeii. (17) Monuments to Trajan. (18) Hadrian's travels. (19) A province in Hadrian's time. (20) Destruction of Pompeii. (21) Present condition of Pompeii. ^{Search topics}

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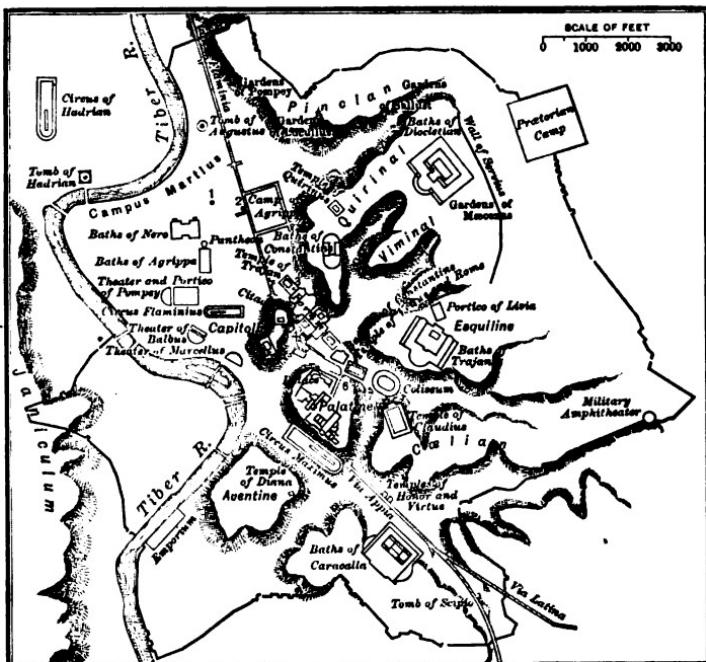
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CHAPTER XXXIV.

ROMAN LIFE AND LITERATURE IN IMPERIAL TIMES

ROMAN history and Roman civilization in imperial times present a double aspect: the life of Rome itself, and the parallel but different life of the provinces. The city abounded in evidences of a rapidly decaying civilization, and but for the constant influx of new blood from the provinces, the civilization

aspect of
Roman
civilization



IMPERIAL ROME.

See also map, p. 443. 1, Column of Antoninus Pius; 2, Column of Marcus Aurelius; 3, Column of Trajan; 4, Arch of Septimius Severus; 5, Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; 6, Arch of Titus; 7, Arch of Constantine.

greatness of imperial Rome would have speedily ended. In the provinces, on the other hand, the two or three centuries after the death of Cæsar were years of the greatest prosperity, and generation after generation lived to bless the conquerors who had brought peace and contentment to their doors.

First among all the citizens of Rome was the emperor, who enjoyed honors and privileges above all other members of society. Still, the position of the emperor was different from that of most ancient or modern sovereigns, **443. Classes of society in Rome** inasmuch as there never existed in Rome a royal family.

Only rarely did the imperial title descend from father to son, and consequently there never grew up a system of court etiquette and court privilege such as centers about the person of most kings.

Technically, the emperor was only the first among that class of nobles whose badge of honor was their eligibility to a seat in the Senate. This class continued to retain the privilege of office holding long after office holding ceased to carry with it any power. In the days of Augustus, these nobles still counted among their number a few really ancient families; but a century later, in the time of Vespasian and Titus, it was difficult to find men who could trace their ancestry back to those who had taken an active part in the affairs of the republic.

The next rank of society was the knights, a class which had ceased absolutely to have any privileges except those which riches could buy. Below them in order came the freemen, the freedmen, and the slaves. The last two classes certainly formed more than half of the entire population of Italy. In the centuries of war which Rome waged, vast hordes of slaves poured into the capital, and to them were intrusted every sort of intellectual and manual labor. They were the teachers and doctors, they were the accountants and

clerks, they were the household servants and the field laborers; till nothing remained for the freeman to do but to live upon the bounty of the state, or to join the ranks of the clients who attended upon the rich for the pittance of bread and wine which they could thus obtain. Thousands of the slaves were liberated every year, but an ever new horde poured into the capital to take the place of the freedmen thus created, and down to the latest imperial times the proportion of bondmen seems not to have diminished.

Though many citizens still lived a pure and decent life, and continued to uphold the traditions of the race, the average Roman noble devoted his days and nights to the pursuit **444. Daily life and amuse- ments** of pleasures, often of the lowest form. His houses, of which he often had one or more in the city and several in the country, were richly adorned; his clothing and his furniture were the most expensive that money could buy, and



A ROMAN MEAL.
From a Pompeian fresco.

his table was heaped with exotic food. The early morning hours he devoted to receiving his friends and his clients; later he went to the Forum, either to transact his business or to meet his friends. After his noonday meal he rested for an hour or two, and then went to the Campus Martius, the ancient exercising grounds of the Romans, where he devoted an hour or more to athletic sports. Next followed the daily

bath, which scarcely a Roman of the higher classes omitted; and then came the all-important function of the day, the evening meal, where host and guests lay upon their couches and feasted and drank till far into the night.

Since the slaves did most of the work, the daily life of the city freemen must have been one of idleness; two things only

445. "Panem et circenses" they demanded of the state: plenty to eat and frequent opportunity to enjoy themselves. Throughout imperial times, the one great cry of the lower classes is said to have been "*Panem et circenses*" (bread and the games of the circus). To satisfy the clamor for support, the African provinces were largely devoted to the cultivation of grain; and swift-sailing corn ships and high-paid officials were constantly maintained by the emperors. In order that the people might never be without their amusements, more than half the days of the year were ultimately devoted to festivals and games. These festivals were of three kinds: theatrical shows, gladiatorial contests in the amphitheater, and chariot races in the circuses. The theaters, though elaborately constructed to accommodate thousands of people, were rarely devoted to the production of real dramas; once in a while a comedy might be produced, but in most cases the people demanded pantomimes, feats of magic, and acrobatic shows, much like our modern vaudeville. In the amphitheaters were presented those gladiatorial shows which have always appeared to the modern world as one of the most striking features of Roman civilization. In course of time, the amphitheaters grew larger and larger, and the shows more and more elaborate, till hundreds of victims perished in a single day. The passion for the circus was of a later growth; but as the empire grew old, so the historians assure us, the people were willing to spend day after day watching the charioteers run their horses round and round the endless course.

Ease, irresponsibility, and luxury tended to deprave the



IN THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS. (Painting by Ulpiano Checa.)

social and moral tone of the capital. While the provincial cities copied the vices of Rome, the rural population of the provinces was happy and vigorous.

446. Prosperity in provinces The primary reason for this vitality is that in their instincts for government and law, the Romans retained many of the virtues of an earlier age. The forms of administration had changed for the better; Roman organization became more and more effective; so that while the capital sank deeper and deeper into the mire of social decay, the provinces steadily improved, and, in the end, came to contribute almost all the vitality which the

Mommsen, Roman Provinces, empire still possessed. Thus, says Mommsen, "it is in the agricultural towns of Africa, in the homes of the *I. Introd.* vine dressers of the Moselle, in the flourishing townships of the Lycian mountains, and on the margin of the Syrian desert that the work of the imperial period is to be sought and found."

Another reason for the prosperity of the provinces was the state of universal peace which the generals of the empire had brought about. Except along the borders, wars no longer

447. Trade and trade routes distracted the people, and the traveler and the tradesman might traverse the entire empire without fear of molestation. Every emperor from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius devoted his energies and his revenues to the construction of roads and the protection of the passage of the seas; till the merchant might journey from Britain to Arabia in perfect safety.

Aristides, Antoninus Pius "Is not every one free to go in peace whither he wills?" exclaims the panegyrist Aristides. "Is not every port alive with commerce? Are not the mountain passes as safe for the traveler as the town for those who stay at home? . . . Is there a river that may not be crossed, an ocean way that is closed?"

As the result of peace and freedom of trade, from every corner of the empire the products of the world flowed toward the capital. From Spain, from Gaul, and from Britain were

collected the products of the mines, the farms, and the vineyards; from Greece, from Asia Minor, and from the east came the products of the loom and the factory; and the whole Roman world prospered in the exchange of goods. Commercially the world was one as never before; and never again till compara-



ROMAN AQUEDUCT AT NÎMES, FRANCE.

tively modern times did the trader go so far afield in search of goods. In consequence, nearly every class in the provinces prospered, and only at rare intervals do we hear the mutterings of discontent. Everywhere magnificent buildings and extensive public works attest the glory of the empire; and nowhere was there any thought of breaking away from the dominion of Rome.

In the commerce of the empire, all provinces prospered equally; but socially, the east was worse off than the west, for there thousands of years of Asiatic civilization had brought luxury and unspeakable vice. In the provinces of the west — Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Britain — there seems to have been everywhere a large measure of purity and

448. Provin-
ces of the
east and
west con-
trasted

happiness; and when, two centuries after the death of Marcus Aurelius, the empire finally went to pieces, it left there a heritage of respect for law and order of which we to-day are enjoying the fruits.

In the two centuries after the death of Julius Cæsar, the civilization of the ancient world ceased to be national and became cosmopolitan, the union of the best that Rome and



ROMAN ARCH, LINCOLN, ENGLAND.

Greece had to offer. From Greece, the world got its intellectual and artistic ideals; from Rome, its ideas of political organization and law. Throughout the empire only two languages were spoken to any extent. In the east, Greek still continued to be the language of all social intercourse, while Latin was heard chiefly in the palace of the governors and in the barracks of the troops; in the west, local dialects were abandoned, and Latin alone became the language of everyday life.

In its effect upon mankind, the literary life of Rome is hardly less important than its social life and government.

449. Prose Greatest among the prose writers of the last days of the writers of the late republic was Cicero, whose works may be divided into three classes: first, his orations; second, his political, ethical, and educational treatises; and third, his correspondence. Though most critics are agreed that Cicero was not the greatest public speaker that Rome produced, the works of his predecessors are almost entirely lost, and therefore his orations must still stand as the best type of Roman oratory. The many treatises which Cicero wrote, many of which are famous, are full of the intellectual spirit of his times and add

considerably to our understanding of the life of the people. His correspondence, valuable as an example of Latin style, is also priceless as a storehouse of historical information for the last days of the republic. For their spirit and for their form, the works of Cicero deserve a high place in the world's literature; but their chief importance lies in the fact that they fixed a model for all future writers of Latin prose, a standard which no man ever excelled.

Next to Cicero, the most famous prose writer of the times was Cæsar. The *Commentaries on the Gallic War*, our chief source for the history of the conquest of Gaul, is a model of what an account of a military campaign should be; simple and straightforward in style, it tells its story so well that no historian of later times has been able to improve upon it. Cæsar also began a *Commentary on the Civil War*, but this work he never finished.

Third among the prose writers is Sallust, a friend and companion of Cæsar. The greatest of his works was a history of Rome, which has been almost completely lost. Besides the history, Sallust wrote two shorter treatises: one upon the Jugurthan war, the other upon the conspiracy of Catiline. Both are interesting accounts of the events which they narrate, and both are valuable as sources of Roman history.

Two poets of this same age are of superior merit: Lucretius and Catullus. Lucretius wrote but one poem now extant, entitled *Of the Nature of Things*: an attempt to account for the existence of the world. The author's purpose seems to have been to write a didactic account of the origin and constitution of the universe; but, in spite of himself, he filled his poem with glowing pictures of men and the world, as he saw them with a poet's eyes.

Catullus was a lyric poet pure and simple. His poems are full of the fire and emotion of youth; and though they do not show the genius of the great lyric poets of Greece,

450. Poets
of the late
republic

they are to be classed among the best of the world's literature.

In the age of Augustus, there appears but one prose writer of the first rank, the historian Livy. His history of Rome, in which he told the story of the city from its foundation to the time of Augustus, has been preserved only in two large fragments. It is pervaded with an intense patriotism, and is full of the glory of Rome. At times Livy is too credulous; nevertheless, the history is an admirable



VIRGIL, HORACE, AND MECENAS.

Painting by Jalabert.

account of the fortunes of the republic, and the world has never ceased to mourn the fact that it was not preserved complete.

What Livy did in prose, Virgil did in poetry. The *Aeneid* is one long glorification of the Trojan Aeneas, traditional

founder of the Latin race. In form, the poem is very like the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer; in spirit, it is entirely different, for while the Greek poems are based upon earlier ballads, the *Aeneid* is a conscious effort to tell a sustained story, and is pervaded with the purpose of glorifying Rome. Besides the *Aeneid*, Virgil wrote a number of shorter poems of less merit, known as the *Georgics* and the *Eclogues*.

452. Poets
of the
Augustan
age

Contemporary with Virgil was the poet Horace, the best known and most mellow of all the Latin poets. His poems are of three kinds: odes, satires, and epistles. Horace was the apostle of the new era which began with the battle of Actium; above all else he advocated acquiescence in the new order of things. His motto was, Live happily, and leave the cares of state to the ministers of the emperor. Though no such title existed, Horace may appropriately be called the poet laureate of Augustus.

A third poet of the period was Ovid, the poet of the profligate society which centered about Julia, the daughter of Augustus. He wrote much, but nothing with any serious purpose. In the end, he was banished from Rome and spent his last days in Pontus, bewailing the hard fate which had removed him so far from the scene of his former gayeties.

From the death of Augustus to the reign of Trajan, the annals of Roman literature are barren. In the time of Tiberius, Velleius Paterculus wrote a history of Rome; and in the time of Nero, Seneca, the philosopher, produced books on science and philosophy. Neither author is remarkable for style; and their works have so little merit that in other times they would scarcely receive a passing mention. Toward the end of the period, in the reign of Vespasian and Titus, the Elder Pliny lived, and wrote his *Natural History*, a book which attempted to cover the whole field of human knowledge. The book is rambling and

453. Liter-
ature from
Augustus
to Trajan

tedious, but it is interesting as a source from which we can draw a conception of the intellectual conditions of the time.

Next to Livy, the greatest historian of Rome was Tacitus.

In all, Tacitus wrote four great works: a *Biography of*

454. Tacitus, the historian *Agricola, the Conqueror of Britain*; a treatise *On the Manners and Customs of the Germans*; the *Annals*, which deal with imperial history to the death of Nero;

and the *Histories*, which carries the story down to the reign of Trajan. A master of Latin style, and a model of terseness and force, Tacitus is still open to serious criticism as an historian, for all his works are colored by his prejudices against the earlier empire and his discontent with the social conditions of Rome.

Besides Tacitus, the second century produced two prose writers of lesser merit: the Younger Pliny and Suetonius.

455. Pliny and Suetonius The first, famous as the legate of Trajan in Bithynia, has left us an extensive correspondence, abounding in interesting information about the social life of his time; the second is famous for his *Lives of the Twelve Cæsars*, a work almost entirely devoid of literary merit, but full of personal anecdotes about the lives of the first emperors, and interesting because it gives us an opportunity to study the daily life of the imperial court.

The second century produced but one great poet, Juvenal, whose title to fame lies in his *Satires*: bitter attacks upon

456. The satirist Juvenal Roman society as he saw it about him. Though the provinces were undoubtedly happy in the time of the Antonines, Rome was full of evil things; and the works of Juvenal are replete with fire and sarcasm, with the bitterness of a man who viewed a rapidly decaying civilization without being able to perceive any hope for the future regeneration of the world. Though exaggerated and overdrawn, the *Satires* are an appeal to a higher standard no longer observed in Rome.

The Roman law, too, reached its highest development in imperial times, although almost from the foundation of the city the Romans had been famous for their legal system. In the days of the republic, especially after the codification of the Twelve Tables, the law had been more and more developed; first by the enactments of the Senate and the assemblies, and second by the edicts of the *prætors*, the judges of ancient Rome. In the time of the empire, the body of the law had grown still greater through the decrees of the emperors, till it became by far the greatest and most perfect system of ancient times.

Aside from the recognition of slavery which was ingrained in the system, Roman law was a law of equality, of fixed and fair

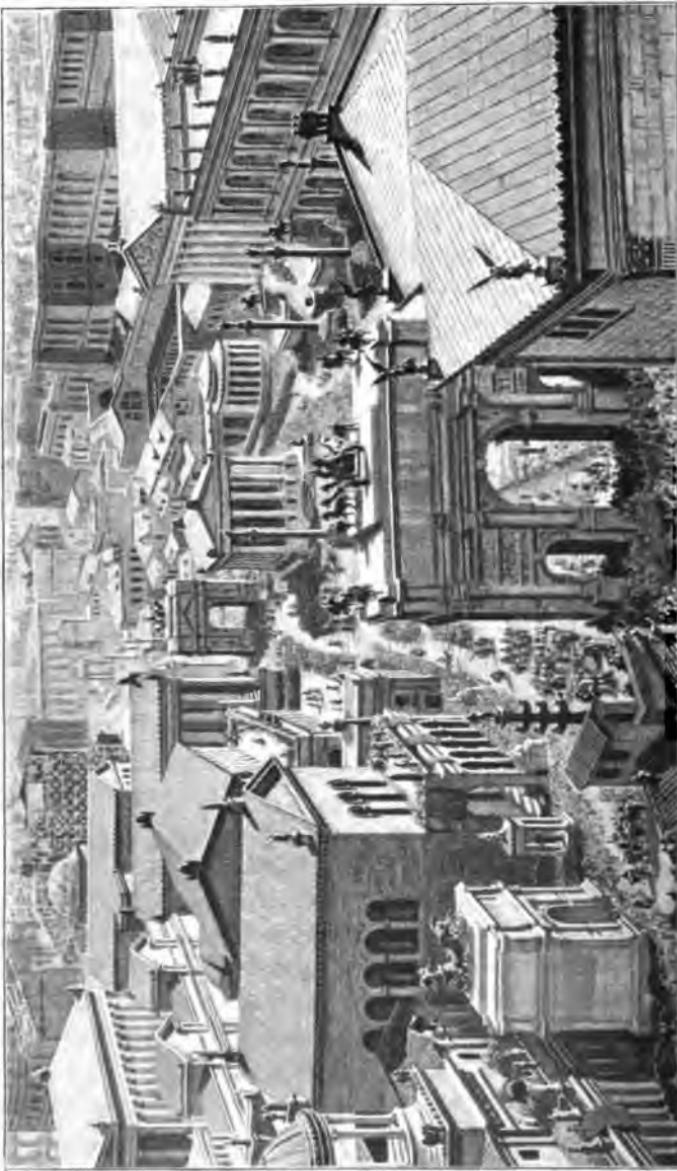
tribunals, of sane and consistent principles; still, it was complicated and therefore needed constant interpretation; and to fulfill this need, there arose in the state a body of trained students who devoted their energies to the elucidation of the disputes which arose over the interpretation of the law. These men, the Jurists, as they are called, flourished especially in the time of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, and some of their legal treatises are still regarded as classics of the law. Later on, all this vast body of law was carefully codified; but in the second century of the empire it had developed to a point which no system, ancient or modern, has ever surpassed.

457. Greatness of Roman law



FORUMS OF ROME.

Where the courts were held.



ROMAN FORUM. (Restoration.)

The chief glory of the Roman empire lay in what it did for the provinces; for within the city evidences of decay were to be seen in all ranks of society. Though no longer the 458. ^{Summary} mistress of the world, the city was still the center of fashion and of social and intellectual life. In the upper walks of life, extremes of luxury were to be observed; in the lower classes, the vicious system of slavery and its adjuncts, free grain and free entertainment, destroyed the independence of the freemen; till scarcely one free resident of Rome in a thousand entirely supported himself and his family. In the provinces, however, conditions were different: here the universal peace, the perfect organization established by the emperors, and the still more perfect system of law, gave the people an opportunity for marvelous commercial development; and in the train of commerce came prosperity and contentment beyond anything that the ancient world had ever known, so that by the time of Antoninus Pius, in the whole empire all distinctions between Roman and provincial were practically lost. This is the real glory of the Roman empire.

Roman literature of the first two centuries of the empire may be divided into three epochs. In the first, or Golden Age, which includes the years from the formation of the first triumvirate (60 B.C.) to the death of Augustus (14 A.D.), lived Cicero, Cæsar, Sallust, and Livy, the prose writers; and Lucretius, Catullus, Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, the poets. The second epoch, from the death of Augustus to the accession of Trajan (98 A.D.), is marked by no really great names. The third, known as the Silver Age of Roman literature, produced the historian Tacitus, the letter writer Pliny, the biographer Suetonius, and the poet Juvenal, the greatest satirist of the Roman empire. In the third epoch, too, the Roman law reached the zenith of its glory. After the death of Hadrian (138 A.D.), the Romans produced hardly anything that can be included in the world's best literature.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) If the empire was not hereditary, who determined who should be emperor? (2) What officer of Rome furnished the bread and the games for the people? (3) Why were the provinces so prosperous while Italy was not? (4) Compare Livy and Tacitus as historians. To which historians of Greece would you compare them? Give your reasons. (5) Do the works of Juvenal give us an accurate picture of Roman society? Give your reasons. (6) Who were the first men to attempt a codification of Roman law? (7) Who enacted laws in imperial Rome? (8) How many kinds of *prætors* were there and who appointed them?

Search topics

(9) Virgil's opinion of Rome. (10) Horace's opinion of Rome. Description of a temple in Rome. (11) Statues in Rome. (12) Aqueducts of Rome. (13) Streets of Rome. (14) The Palatine. (15) The circuses. (16) Roman roads.

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Sources

Besides the sources given in chapters xxxi.-xxxiii. of this book, the works of the orators Aristides and Quintilian, and of the poets and satirists Horace, Juvenal, Ovid, Persius, Petronius, and Virgil are valuable for manners and customs.

Illustrative works

See chapters xxxii. and xxxiii. of this book.

CHAPTER XXXV.

CHRISTIANITY IN THE EMPIRE

In the last years of the second century A.D. the distinctively ancient world was fast coming to an end. The history of the succeeding centuries is the history of the gradual transition from ancient to mediæval civilization. In this fundamental change two great forces were at work: Christianity, which made its way into the empire from the east; and the Germanic race, which crossed the borders and overspread the empire from the north.

The decline of the empire began to show itself in the reign of Commodus, the son of Marcus Aurelius, a man utterly weak

and incapable, who **459. A century of anarchy (180-284 A.D.)** allowed the empire to go to rack and ruin while he enjoyed himself in bestial pleasures. Upon his death, the imperial crown became the plaything of the commanders of the armies; one after another, they were set up by their legions; one after another, they were murdered or defeated in battle by their rivals. One or two notable emperors there



ARCH OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, ROME.

were, especially Septimius Severus (193–211 A.D.) and Aurelian (270–275), who defeated Zenobia, the famous queen of Palmyra,

and put down the threatened revolt in the east. Taken altogether, the period from the death of Marcus Aurelius (180 A.D.) to the accession of Diocletian (284 A.D.) was one of anarchy, in which the unity of the empire was maintained only because it had been so admirably organized by its builders from Julius Cæsar to Marcus Aurelius.

About the time when the Roman government passed into the hands of one man, there arose among the people of Judea a great teacher and preacher, Jesus of Nazareth, whom many of the Jews in time came to recognize as the Messiah or Christ for whom the race had long been waiting. The story of the life and death of Jesus, the founder of the Christian Church, involves the whole subject of Christian doctrine, which is outside the scope of this book. In its relations with the Roman empire, the notable fact is that soon after the death of Jesus, his disciples, under the leadership of Peter, gathered themselves and set to work spreading among their neighbors the gospel of redemption through Christ.

Acts, xi. 19 At first, they contented themselves with "preaching the word to none save Jews only"; but a few years after the death of Jesus, there arose a new teacher, Paul, a Jew born in Tarsus in Cilicia, but a Roman citizen, who believed that, according to the words of Jesus, it was the duty of the apostles *Matthew, xxviii. 19* to "go . . . and teach all nations." Till about 50 A.D., none of the apostles had journeyed farther than Antioch; then Paul found a fruitful field for the spread of the gospel in Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Greece, and traveled from city to city, proclaiming his belief in the new religion, and calling upon Jew and Gentile alike to accept redemption through Jesus Christ.

The other disciples were adverse to the mission of Paul; *461. Spread of Christianity* but about the year 52 A.D. the disciples came to an agreement in a council held at Jerusalem, where it was decided that Paul and his companions might, if they

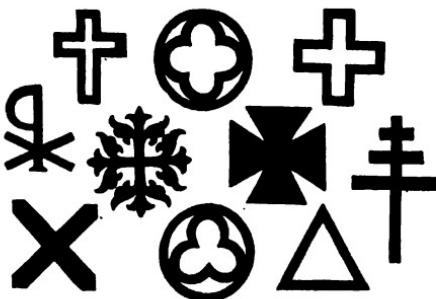
chose, carry the gospel to the Gentiles; the majority of them would still, however, confine their teaching to the Jews. This Council of Jerusalem, as it is called, at once decided the fate of the new faith; henceforth it was to become a world religion.

The Roman empire, as it then existed, offered several conditions which made the propagation of the new religion easy. First of all, many Jews were scattered throughout the cities from Spain to Syria; and among them Paul found a nucleus for the spread of the new doctrine. Next, the Romans themselves had long since ceased to look upon their national religion as a vital thing, and many of them were ready to try the experiment of any new form of worship that might appear. Finally, the empire was so completely unified that when once

the new faith began to take root, it spread rapidly into all parts of the Roman dominions.

Still, we must not be deceived by the later extent of Christianity: the preaching of Paul, extending over a period of twenty or twenty-five years, and carrying him from Jerusalem to Rome, was nothing more than seed by the wayside. At his death, the entire body of Christians probably numbered only a few thousand, scattered over the entire Roman world, and regarded by the average Roman as a sect of the Jews.

At first the preaching of Paul and his followers was regarded by the Romans with indifference; for they were accustomed to allow all forms of worship, so long as they did not interfere with the administration of the state. Indeed, in these early years, the Christians were often actually pro-



SYMBOLS OF THE EARLY CHRISTIANS.

tected by the Roman magistrates against the fury of orthodox Jews who looked upon the new doctrine with disfavor. When, however, the Romans recognized that the Christians were a distinct religious body, there began a series of persecutions which lasted in all for nearly two hundred and fifty years.

The first of these persecutions came in the reign of Nero. In 64 A.D. a vast conflagration consumed a considerable part of Rome, and a rumor arose among the people that the emperor

Tacitus,
Annals,
xx. 44

himself had lighted the flames. "To check this rumor," says Tacitus, "those who were called Christians by the mob, and hated for their moral enormities, were substituted in his place as culprits by Nero, and afflicted with the most exquisite punishments." In this persecution, there was no religious motive, hardly even a political purpose; the attack was purely personal, undertaken because of a supposed specific act; and the Christians might have gone on proselytizing unmolested, had not the trials developed some new facts, alarming to the Romans.

After the trials began, Tacitus goes on to say, the Christians were "convicted not so much of the crime of incendiарism as

Tacitus,
Annals,
xv. 44

of hatred of the human race." This phrase curtly expresses the Roman disfavor toward a religion which actively assailed the very framework of Roman society.

The Christians were accused of being a people who exhibited a "hatred of the human race": for it was said that they despised and decried those things which the Romans held most dear; that they advocated the loosening of family ties when the members of the family did not all accept Christianity; that they were opposed to the gladiatorial shows and theatrical exhibitions which had delighted Roman communities for centuries; that they declared the slave was as good as his master; that they refused to share in the burdens and obligations of Roman citizenship. As the people of the empire learned of all this, they became more and more irritated with the new sect;

and the Christian, wherever found, became an outcast from society.

There are records of a persecution in the time of Domitian (81-96 A.D.) also; nevertheless, not till the time of the emperor Trajan does Rome seem to have adopted a definite policy toward the Christians. In 117 A.D. the Younger Pliny was appointed governor of Bithynia; here he found many Christians, and since he was at a loss how to deal with them, he appealed to the emperor. He is anxious to know, he says,



PLAN OF THE CATACOMBS.

Underground passages and rooms where the Christians buried their dead and worshipped in secret. The total length of the passages is about 550 miles.

"whether the very name of Christian, without any wrongdoing or the crimes which are usually committed in the name of Christianity, should be the subject of punishment." "In the meantime," he goes on to say, "I have pursued this method with those who have been brought before me: I have demanded of them whether they were

*Pliny,
Letters,
x. 97*

Christians; if they confessed, I have renewed my inquiry a second and a third time, threatening them with punishment; if they were inflexible, I have ordered them off to punishment, for I was not in the least doubt, whatever their belief might be, that their pertinacity and inflexible obstinacy ought to be punished."

Pliny's policy was emphatically approved by the emperor. "You are not to hunt them out," he says; "but if they are brought before you and accused, they should be punished." By this decree the Christians became legally outlaws within the empire because they endeavored to with-

*Pliny,
Letters,
x. 98*

draw themselves from their obligations as Roman subjects. Had they been willing to conform to the practices and customs of the empire, they might still have lived unmolested. Their offense was not that they believed in other gods than those of the Romans, but that they desired to become a distinct political organization within the empire,—a thing which no emperor would tolerate.

The policy which Trajan thus laid down continued till 250 A.D. to be the official attitude of the state: under Marcus Aurelius and some other emperors there were persecutions of Christians; still, no emperor troubled himself very seriously to hunt out the believers unless he was forced to it by the hatred of the neighbors of the sect. As yet the emperors saw little political danger in the growth of the church, and were, for the most part, content to allow the Christians to live in peace, provided their existence was not brought directly to their attention.

In the year 250 comes evidence that this point of view had changed. The Christians had grown in number and

464. Persecution in the time of Decius (250 A.D.) organization, till the emperor Decius determined to stamp out the very faith itself, because he believed it to be a menace to the existence of his empire. Henceforth,

says the edict of Decius, all Christians shall be required to conform to the state religion and to abjure entirely their heretical belief. Those who refused were to be punished, in extreme cases, even with death. A general persecution extending from one end of the empire to the other was undertaken, and for the next ten years, long after Decius himself was dead, no Christian was free from the possibility of feeling the weight of the emperor's hand. The effort came too late; though the martyrs were many, though the church suffered terribly from this persecution, yet when the persecution ceased in 260, Christianity was far from being exterminated, and the emperors had to confess that they had failed.

After the cessation of the persecution in 260, the Christians were allowed to live in peace for over forty years, till in the last years of Diocletian's reign persecution began again. By this time (303 A.D.), Christians had come to be recognized in all walks of life: they were in the army as trusted soldiers; they were in the palace as ministers and servants; they were in the provinces as officers of the government; but Diocletian had associated with himself as rulers three other men,

465. The
last perse-
cution
(303-311
A.D.)



DIOCLETIAN.
Capitoline Museum, Rome.

his looks, he made himself a terror to all that came near him."

This time the persecution was frankly carried on with intent to uproot the whole church and its adherents. All places of worship were to be destroyed; all sacred writings were to be burned; all meetings of Christians were prohibited; and all those who professed the faith were to be summarily punished.

In the east, the persecution was especially severe; in the west, Constantius Chlorus, another associate of the emperor,

*Lactantius,
Persecutors,
ix.*

"In this wild beast," says Lactantius, one of the fathers of the church, "there dwelt a native barbarity and savageness foreign to the Roman blood. . . . Of stature tall, full of flesh, and swollen to a horrible bulk of corpulency, by his speech, his gestures, and

was favorably disposed toward the Christians, and did all in his power to shield them. All manner of tortures were suffered by the Christians in the east; "some were slain with the ax, some had their bones fractured, some were suspended by the feet, a little raised above the ground, with their heads downward, and thus were suffocated by the ascending smoke of gentle fires kindled beneath."

466. Triumph of Christianity assured The Christians bore up bravely, and Galerius was forced to confess, after he became emperor, that his efforts had been a failure. In the last years of his life he was obliged to issue an edict which declared "that Christianity may once more be practiced, and the believers may build their conventicles on condition that they do nothing to break the discipline of the empire."

Thus, at the beginning of the fourth century, the emperors were forced to confess that their efforts to stamp out Christianity had been in vain; already the triumph of the faith was assured. The reason was that the new religion met the needs of the time: it offered a simple monotheism in place of a debased worship of innumerable gods; it presented a new scheme of life in which the slave and the poor man became the equal of the rich; it substituted charity for brutality; and finally, it brought to men a new and vivid conception of a living and all-merciful God.

The glory of the Roman empire ended in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Thenceforward, Christianity and the Germanic race became more and more powerful and ultimately caused the transition from the ancient to the mediæval world.

467. Summary Christianity, the new world religion, was born among the Jews. At first, the disciples conceived of it only as a reformed Judaism; but under the leadership of the apostle Paul, it was spread till proselytes might be found in every part of the empire from Britain to the Black Sea. In the beginning, the Christians

were recognized by the Romans only as a sect of Jews, and consequently were not molested. In the reign of Nero, the first persecution was undertaken by the emperor to shield himself from the attacks of the Roman populace. The trials of the Christians showed the Romans that they were a peculiar people, and henceforth all believers became outcasts within the empire. In the time of Trajan, the imperial authorities for the first time adopted an official policy toward the new sect; from this time on, the mere name of Christian was enough to brand a man as an outlaw, and all officers of the state might persecute professors of the faith. Still, no one objected to the religious beliefs of the Christians; it was their attitude toward the Roman state which was to be punished. In 250 A.D. the first systematic attempt to stamp out the faith was undertaken, but it was too late. In spite of ten years of persecution, the church continued to flourish, and at the end of the century was stronger than ever before. Finally, in the beginning of the fourth century, one last attempt to exterminate the Christians was made, but this too failed; in the end, the emperor Galerius was forced to recognize the existence of the church, and Christianity was upon the eve of its final triumph over the paganism of the ancient world.

TOPICS

- (1) Paul's life as shown in the Acts of the Apostles. (2) What was the attitude of the Romans toward religions other than their own? Give examples. (3) Enumerate as many reasons as you can why the Roman government persecuted the Christians. (4) What is the usual result of persecuting a religious sect? Why? Cite examples. (5) What were the differences between Christianity and the old Roman religion? (6) Would a Roman, not a Christian, but acting as the Christians did, have been treated as severely as the Christians by the Roman government? Give your reasons. (7) What is the common conception of the so-called Neronian persecution?
- (8) The earliest accounts of Jesus by other than Scriptural writers. (9) Paul in Rome. (10) The sacrifices to Roman gods.
- Suggestive topics
Search topics

- (11) Earliest records of Christians in Rome. (12) An early Christian church building. (13) The early Fathers of the Church. (14) The conversion of Constantine. (15) The catacombs.

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CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE TRIUMPH OF CHRISTIANITY AND THE BEGINNING OF THE GERMANIC INVASIONS

In the hundred and four years from the death of Marcus Aurelius to the accession of Diocletian, civil war had been so constant within the empire, and the attacks by the barbarians so fierce, that it seemed as if only a miracle could save the now rapidly decaying state, which indeed was no longer Roman in anything but name. Rome could scarcely even be called its capital; the real seat of power was the camp where every emperor spent most of his time. Furthermore, the people of Rome had long since lost all active control of the government; citizenship had been conferred upon all the people of the empire early in the third century, and now every freeman from Britain to Syria could boast the Roman name.

468. The threatening dissolution of the empire



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER,
BAALBEK, SYRIA.

That name of Roman was no longer a badge of distinction or power; on the contrary, it compelled its possessor to bear his share of the imperial taxes, which were growing heavier and heavier as the years went by. These taxes crushed out the trades, absorbed the profits of the merchants

and the produce of the landowners, and finally drew upon the accumulated capital of the imperial city, so that it did not pay to carry on industry, and good land in many parts of the empire lay fallow. The army ceased to be recruited in Rome, or even in Italy; both its officers and its men were largely natives of the border provinces; and since the army chose the emperors, the entire policy of the government was dictated by the needs of the outlying provinces.

Gibbon,
vii. "The form [of the empire] was still the same," says Gibbon, "but the animating health and vigor were fled.

The industry of the people was discouraged and exhausted by a long series of oppression. The discipline of the legions, which alone, after the extinction of every other virtue, had propped the greatness of the state, was corrupted by the ambition, or relaxed by the weakness, of the emperors. The strength of the frontiers . . . was insensibly undermined; and the fairest provinces were left exposed to the rapaciousness of the barbarians, who soon discovered the decline of the empire."

It is the merit of Diocletian, the son of an Illyrian peasant, that he found a way to arrest this threatening dissolution.

469. Re-
forms of
Diocletian Coming to the imperial throne in 284, after a long and varied career as a soldier, he appreciated that the only thing which could save the empire was a radical change in the entire system of administration. Accordingly, he associated Maximian with himself as co-emperor, and divided with him the responsibility of the administration. Maximian was a good general, but not in the least a statesman; while he aided Diocletian with his advice, the chief burdens of the government still rested upon the older colleague. A further division of authority was necessary.

The two Augusti, as Diocletian and Maximian are henceforth called, decided to occupy themselves exclusively with the civil administration, and to leave military affairs to two younger colleagues, whom they would call Cæsars. The two men chosen

for the work were Galerius and Constantius Chlorus, both men of long training in the army. Thus the imperial authority passed into the hands of four men. The two Augusti took up their residence in the central provinces, Diocletian at Nicomedia in Bithynia, and Maximian at Milan in Cisalpine Gaul; the two Cæsars remained with the armies along the border; and the empire was again in comparative peace.

For twenty years the four colleagues ruled the empire and reorganized its government; then Diocletian and Maximian abdicated, and the two Cæsars took their place, as Diocletian had intended. Had not Constantius Chlorus died within a year or two, the scheme of succession thus established might have continued in effect for some time longer; as it was, a civil war resulted, and for the next twenty years the empire was distracted by the contentions of no less than six claimants to the throne. Out of the turmoil, in 324, Constantine the Great, son of Constantius Chlorus, finally emerged as sole ruler of the empire. Diocletian's scheme for the succession had failed, but from the accession of Constantine peace was again established in the empire.

Once firmly seated on the throne, Constantine set to work to complete the reorganization which Diocletian had begun. Though he abandoned once for all the scheme for the subdivision of imperial authority, he adopted



CONSTANTINE.

Church of S. Giovanni in Laterano, Rome.

470. Constantine the Great (324-337 A.D.)

and perfected the plan for the subdivision of the administration. The empire was divided into four parts; over each of these, under the authority of the emperor, a *præfect* was to rule. Each of the *præfectorates* was again divided into dioceses, of which there were twelve in all, and over them officers called *vicars* were put in control. The dioceses were divided into something like one hundred and ten provinces, the old



ARCH OF CONSTANTINE, ROME.

provincial lines being to a large degree abandoned. In each province there was to be a governor, whose authority was to extend only to civil affairs; special officers, not connected at all with the civil administration, were put in command of the troops, and henceforth civil and military affairs were to be kept strictly apart. As a last step in his new scheme, Constantine decided to remove his official capital from Rome to Byzantium, now called Constantinople, so that he might be nearer to what he considered the real center of his empire.

DIOCLETIAN AND CONSTANTINE BUILDED WELL; THE EMPIRE WAS

saved from immediate ruin; and though, when Constantine died, troubles came again, the empire was able to bear the shock, and indeed to avert the coming dissolution for another hundred years.

To Constantine belongs the honor of being the first emperor who frankly accepted Christianity and used its organization for the purpose of uplifting the empire. In 313, in the midst of the war for the possession of the crown, he issued, in conjunction with a colleague, the famous Edict of Milan, which made Christianity one of the accepted religions of the state. "No man," says the edict, "shall be denied the right to attach himself to the rites of Christianity or of whatever religion his conscience may direct. . . .

471. Tri-
umph of
Christianity

Eusebius,
*Ecclesiasti-
cal History,*

x. 5

All exceptions regarding Christianity shall be removed, . . . and now every Christian may freely and without molestation pursue and follow that course of worship which to him seems best."

So far, Constantine had not distinguished Christianity by any special favor; but during the next ten years he recognized clearly the enormous service which the powerful organization of the church might give him, and consequently more and more he made Christianity the official religion of the empire. From the year 325 onward, Christianity was the accepted religion within the empire; once, in the reign of the emperor Julian (361-363), an attempt was made to reestablish the supremacy of paganism; but the attempt failed, and thenceforth Christianity was completely dominant, and paganism gradually disappeared from the western world. In the century following this triumph of Christianity the annals of the church are illumined by the names of two great men, Augustine and Chrysostom, whose writings and teachings did much to magnify the influence of the church in the world.

The formal conversion of Constantine, about the year 325, marks the triumph of the Christian faith; but unfortunately,

at the very time when the triumph came, the church was torn asunder by a most bitter doctrinal fight. Almost from the

472. An orthodox Christianity established (325 A.D.) foundation of Christianity, men had differed in their ideas as to the exact nature of the divinity of Christ; but never before had they been so completely divided as at the present time. Since a united church was the one thing that Constantine desired, in 325 A.D. he called together at Nicæa, in Bithynia, the whole body of the Christian clergy

from all parts of the empire, and demanded of them that they settle the dispute.

The two leaders in the fight, Athanasius and Arius, both residents of Alexandria, appeared at the council ready to defend their beliefs. The debate was long and heated,

but in the end the council came to an agreement, and Constantine ratified its work. Henceforth there was to be but one orthodox Christian creed, the creed of Athanasius; Arius was condemned as a heretic, and his followers were excluded from the regular church, though they persisted in their heresy and continued to proselyte among the distant savage tribes.

When Constantine died, in 337, he left behind him three sons. Instead of carefully husbanding all the powers of the

473. Successors of Constantine (337-375 A.D.) empire in order to hold in check the horde of Germans who were now pressing into the empire from the north, they dissipated their strength in quarreling for the possession of the throne. Constantius, the last of the sons, died in 360, and was succeeded the next year by his cousin Julian, noted in history for his endeavor to restore paganism



RUINS OF THE BASILICA OF CONSTANTINE,
ROME.

as the official religion of the empire. In 363 Julian was succeeded by Valentinian, who found the burden of the empire

too great to bear alone, and therefore divided his authority with his brother Valens, reserving the west for himself and giving the east to his associate. In the reign of these two emperors the flood of Germanic invasions finally broke upon the empire, and we must now pause to examine the manners and customs of these barbarian hordes.

What we know of the Germans before they entered the empire must be gathered largely from the works of Caesar and Tacitus. Tacitus de-

scribes them thus: "They have stern blue eyes and ruddy hair; their bodies are large and robust, but powerful only in sudden efforts. They are impatient of toil and labor; thirst and heat easily overcome them; but from the nature of their soil and climate, they are proof against cold and hunger." They lived in the forests and marshes of the north, devoting their lives to hunting and fishing and to war. Of agriculture they knew only the merest rudiments; what wealth they had was represented by their herds of cattle. Their houses were huts; their dress, the skins of animals or coarsely woven cloths.

Like all savage or semicivilized peoples, their chief occupation was war. "To earn by the sweat of your brow, what you might gain by the price of your blood, was, in the opinion of a German, a sluggish principle, unworthy of a soldier." "Yet the intrepid warrior," continues Tacitus,



JULIAN.
Louvre, Paris.

474. Manners and customs of primitive Germans
Tacitus, Germany, iv.

Tacitus, Germany, xiv.
Germany, xv.

"who in the field braved every danger, becomes, in times of peace, a listless sluggard; . . . the management of his house and lands, he leaves to his women, to the old men, and the infirm of the family; he himself lounges in stupid repose."

When not engaged in war or hunting, the German devoted his days and nights to drinking and gambling; quarrels and bloodshed resulted, and many men were willing to stake even their freedom on a throw of the dice. This was the worst vice of the Germans; their greatest virtue was the purity of their family life. Absolute faithfulness to the marriage tie was the pride and law of every household.

In government, the German organization was simple: some of the tribes elected kings, but most of them were led by military chiefs who owed their position to bravery in the field. In all important matters, the final decision was left to the fighting men, who met in assembly and indicated their pleasure by the clash of arms. In war, they fought in companies organized according to family ties; but besides the regular host, every leader gathered about him a band of young men who were bound to him by a special oath to defend him even with their lives.

Such were the Germans in the time of Tacitus. Two centuries and a half later, when they finally broke the frontier, they were much more civilized, but they still retained enough of their original qualities to distinguish them sharply from the inhabitants of the empire.

In 375 began what the historian Hodgkin calls "the Death of Rome." In that year the Visigoths, who came originally from the valley of the Vistula, possibly even from Scandinavia,

475. Break- and who had been living quietly in the province of Dacia
ing the for a century, appeared on the Danube and petitioned the
frontier emperor Valens to allow them to cross the river. Why
(375-378 A.D.) did the Visigoths make this demand? The answer is simple: out of the east there had suddenly swept into Europe

a horde of savage tribes known as the Huns; and the kingdom of the Ostrogoths, the eastern brothers of the Visigoths, crumbled before their arms. In 375 the dreaded Huns were already pressing into Dacia, and the only hope of safety for the Visigoths lay in crossing the Danube into Moesia.

Valens hesitated for a time, and then granted their petition, stipulating, however, that they should cross the river without arms. Unfortunately for the empire, the officers to whom the task of transporting the Visigoths was intrusted were far from discreet; they robbed the men, heaped insults upon the women, and at the same time were careless about the collection of the arms; consequently, the Visigoths came into the empire with hatred against their masters, and with resolution fixed to repay in full the indignities heaped upon them.

Three years later, their chance came; war was declared, and the Visigothic army took up its march upon Constantinople. Valens, a wholly incapable man, hurried out to meet them. The two forces came together near Adrianople, in Thrace: the battle was short; the Visigothic cavalry proved its superiority over the Roman infantry, Valens was killed, and his army routed. "Though the Romans," says Ammianus, "have often experienced the fickleness of fortune, their annals contain no record of so destructive a defeat since the battle of Cannæ."

From Adrianople, the Visigoths marched to Constantinople and laid siege to the city; it looked as if only a miracle could save the eastern empire. A savior was at hand, however; Gratian, son of Valentinian, emperor of the west, saw the danger and associated with himself as emperor, Theodosius, a Spanish nobleman, and intrusted to him the task of turning back the tide of Visigothic conquest.

"Immediately, military discipline was reestablished in the Roman army, and the Roman fortunes revived; then, too, the Goths perceived that the sloth and negli-

476. Theodo-
dósius, savi-
or of the
empire
(378-395
A.D.)

Jordanes,
*History of
the Goths,*
xxvii.

gence of the earlier princes was no more, and shrank back in fear." Theodosius accomplished what Valens had dreamed of; he induced the Visigoths to make peace and settled them in Thrace as allies and defenders of the empire. The empire was saved for the time, but a horde of Germans was lying in one of the central provinces, ready to attack either Rome or Constantinople, should the fever of conquest come upon them again.

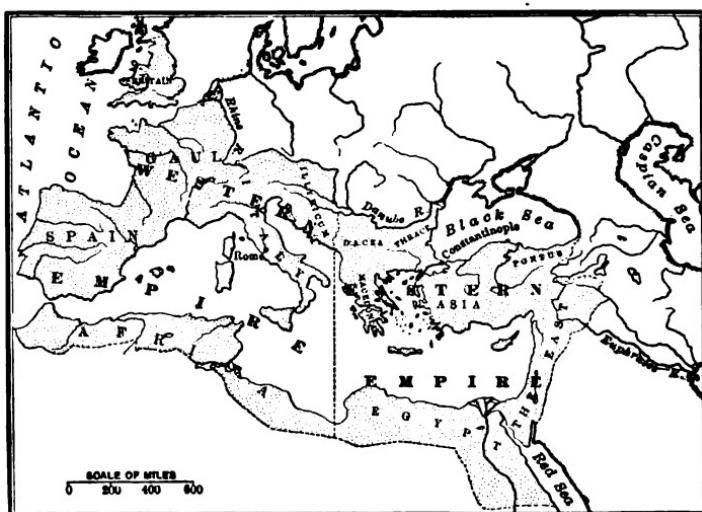
In 392 Theodosius became the ruler of the whole empire; three

477. Alaric, king of the Visigoths
years later he died and left the empire to his two sons: Honorius taking the west.



THEODOSIUS.

Statue at Barletta, Italy.



DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE IN 395.

as their king, Alaric, a young man, full of martial spirit, to whom war was almost as necessary as the air he breathed. Forthwith he resolved to move out of Thrace on a military expedition, and he chose Greece as his goal. Had the safety of the empire depended upon Honorius or Arcadius, things would have gone ill, for both were utterly incompetent men; but both were supported by capable ministers, and thus the empire was saved for a few years more. Stilicho, the minister of Honorius, hurried into Greece, succeeded in entrapping Alaric in Arcadia, and forced him to retire into the north.

For six years Alaric rested in Illyricum. Then, so tradition has it, he felt an irresistible impulse to enter Italy and penetrate to the city of Rome. In 402 he took up his march to the west; but before he could cross the Apennines, Stilicho met him again, and defeated him in battle at Pollentia, a city in Liguria.

Had Honorius been wise, he would have guarded this minister with care; instead, he allowed his court favorites to prejudice his mind against him, and in 408 Stilicho was put to death. With him perished the shield of the western empire.

Immediately Alaric began to move again. This time he penetrated south of the Apennines as far as the city of Rome. Once, twice, and again, he came; but the spell of the imperial city with its centuries of tradition was heavy on the barbarian, and he seemed loath to take it. In 410 he came for the last time, and after a brief siege, entered the city which had not seen a foreign foe in its streets for eight hundred years; and he gave its citizens and its buildings up to the mercy of his troops.

Alaric rested in Rome less than a week; destiny seemed to be calling him on to other things. With his army he marched south, intending probably to cross into Sicily and Africa beyond; but before he had finished his preparations,

478. Sack
of Rome
(410 A.D.)

he died, still a young man and apparently ready to lead his nation on to still more glorious deeds. With heavy hearts,

479. Death of Alaric his followers buried him in a swift-running stream which makes its way down from the Apennines to the sea.
Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, bk. i. ch. 7 "So," says Hodgkin, "under the health-bringing waters of the Busento, sleeps Alaric the Visigoth, equaled, may it not be said, by only three other men in succeeding time as a changer of the course of history. And these three are Mohammed, Columbus, and Napoleon."

After the death of Alaric, the Visigoths retreated out of Italy under their new chief, Ataulf. They did not return to Illyricum, however; instead, they turned west, and settled in southern Gaul and Spain, establishing the first of the new Germanic kingdoms in the empire.

About 400 A.D. another German tribe, the Vandals, also began to move. Starting from Pannonia, where they had

480. Vandal invasion (400-455 A.D.) settled some time before, with their wives and children, their cattle and their household goods, they wandered to the west and entered Gaul, ravaging the country wherever they went. Slowly they made their way south, and finally crossed the Pyrenees into Spain. Here they were found by the Visigoths, who forced them into the southern part of the peninsula.

Thus far the Vandals had had no great leader; in 428 Geuseric, the second of the heroes of the invasions, became their king. Unlike most of the Germans, he was small and ill-shapen, but he made up in craft what he lacked in physical strength, and among all the leaders of the Teutonic tribes he was the most cruel and the least prepossessing. The very year of his election, the Vandals were invited into Africa to aid with their arms one of the parties in a local struggle. The invitation was accepted with avidity; but, having come as allies, they stayed as conquerors; and before the middle of the century they occupied the coast as far

east as Egypt, thus establishing a second Germanic kingdom within the empire.

One more dramatic incident in the career of the Vandals remains to be chronicled. In 455 they were urged to undertake an expedition into Italy by the empress Eudoxia, 481. ^{Second} who wished to use them as a means to satisfy a private grudge. Naturally, the Vandals complied: landing at Ostia, they pillaged the land as far as the city of Rome. Finally they entered the city, sacked and burned its buildings, and carried away to Africa all the spoils that their galleys would contain. ^{sack of Rome (455 A.D.)}

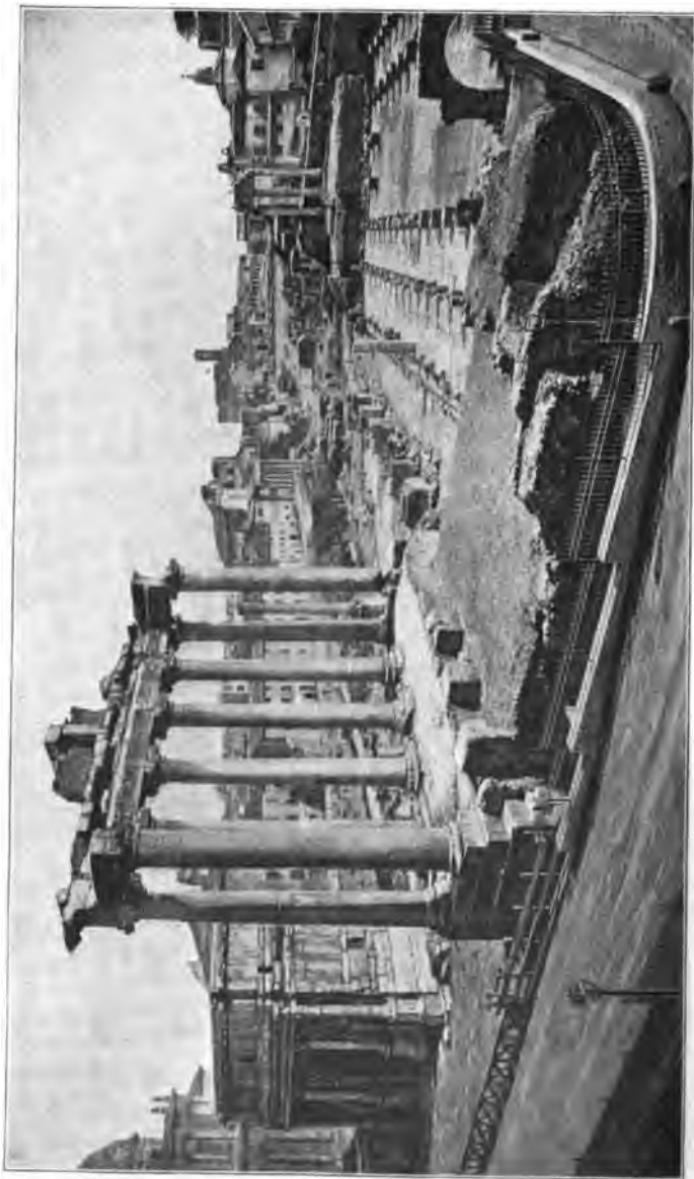
For another three quarters of a century, they maintained their supremacy in northern Africa; then, as we shall see, their kingdom crumbled before the arms of the eastern emperor.

While these changes were taking place on the continent, another horde of Germans had invaded Britain. In 449, so the tradition goes, two German adventurers, Hengist and Horsa, landed and settled on an island at the mouth of the Thames. Others followed them, and within a century southern and eastern Britain had passed into the hands of three Germanic tribes: the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes. ^{482. The Anglo-Saxon conquest}

In the seventh century these barbarians were converted to Christianity by Augustine, a missionary sent out by the pope. In his work Augustine was opposed by missionaries of the ancient Celtic church of Ireland, but in the end the Anglo-Saxons, as they are now called, accepted the Roman church, and thus Britain was added to the countries which acknowledged the supremacy of the bishop at Rome.

Behind the Germans, lay that still more awful scourge, the Huns, probably the ancestors of the present Tartars. According to Jordanes, the historian of the Goths, 483. Attila, "They were small, foul, and skinny; scarcely human withal, but spoken of as men because they possessed "Scourge of God" (435-453)

RUINS OF THE ROMAN FORUM.



something distantly resembling human speech." They lived all their lives on horseback, scarcely descending, we are told, even to sleep. Of agriculture, even of the herding of flocks, they knew scarcely anything; all their lives they spent wandering from place to place, searching for plunder and destroying the work of other men's hands.

*Jordanes,
History of
the Goths,*
xxiv.

Their first exploit in Europe, as we have seen, was the conquest of the Ostrogoths and the expulsion of the Visigoths from Dacia. Two generations later, about 435, a new leader, named Attila, was chosen as their king. This man Attila is one of the nightmares of history: for twenty years or more he was the terror of all Europe; to the Christians he was known as the "Scourge of God." For ten or fifteen years Attila was busy extending his power over the people of eastern Europe; then, about 450, he crossed the Rhine and appeared in the country not far from where Paris now lies. In 451 he was met at Châlons by an army composed of Romans and Visigoths alike. These Visigoths were the followers of Ataulf, who had settled in southern Gaul a generation before. The battle was fierce, and neither side gained a definite victory; but in the end Attila withdrew, and Gaul was saved from the Hunnish conqueror.

Next year Attila marched south against Italy. Crossing the Alps, he appeared in the country about the head of the Adriatic, where he besieged and conquered the city of Aquileia. Those who escaped with their lives fled to the small islands which dot the head of the Adriatic, and thus was founded the city of Venice, which many centuries later became the queen of the Mediterranean Sea.

From Aquileia, Attila marched south bent on capturing Rome. Now occurred one of those scenes, common enough in the fifth and sixth centuries, but which we at this late day are almost at a loss to understand. One day there appeared in the camp of Attila a Roman embassy led by the bishop,

the famous Pope Leo the Great. Somehow or other the bishop worked upon the fears of the conqueror so that he paused in his career, and instead of attacking Rome he recrossed the Alps into his own kingdom.

Shortly afterward Attila died, and before long his kingdom fell to pieces. Within a quarter of a century, the Huns had



VENICE, AS IT IS TO-DAY.

completely disappeared from European history. Though they left no personal traces behind them, their coming had set the whole world awry.

At the end of the third century A.D., the Roman empire seemed upon the verge of dissolution, but the catastrophe was averted by the wise reforms of Diocletian and Constantine.

484. Summary In the reign of Constantine, about 325, came the triumph of Christianity; for Constantine then recognized it as the official religion of the state, and thenceforth paganism gradually disappeared from the western world.

About forty years after the death of Constantine, began the invasions which had been so long threatening. Impelled by the Huns, the Visigoths crossed the Danube in 375, and three years later, at Adrianople, the emperor Valens was killed and

his army totally defeated. The empire was saved, it is true, by the valor of Theodosius; but when he died, the Visigoths under Alaric resumed their attacks; and in 410 the city of Rome itself fell a prey to their arms. After Alaric's death, the Visigoths retreated out of Italy and settled in southern Gaul and Spain. Thus was the first of the Germanic kingdoms founded within the empire. Some fifteen or eighteen years later, in 428, the Vandals under Genseric crossed into Africa, where they finally occupied the coast as far east as Egypt, thus founding the second kingdom within the empire. Some twenty years later began a third migration which ultimately resulted in the founding of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in Britain. Of the Huns, the force which set the Germans in motion, it is sufficient to say, that they came like a plague out of the east, that they afflicted Europe for two or three generations, and then passed away without leaving any permanent trace of their presence.

TOPICS

- (1) What danger was there in having the Roman army officered by non-Romans? (2) Was Diocletian's division of the empire wise or unwise? Give your reasons. (3) What was the difference between Diocletian's plans for keeping the empire alive and those of Constantine? Which do you think were better and why? (4) Compare Constantine's organization of the empire with that of Augustus. (5) Find out what the doctrines of Arius and Athanasius were. Is there a sect of Christians to-day somewhat resembling the Arians? (6) How did the teachings of Christ allow so much variance in doctrine? (7) Compare the Germans with the early Greeks and Romans. (8) Give an account of the conflicts between Romans and Germans before 378 A.D. (9) If Valens had refused to permit the Visigoths to cross the Danube, would Rome ever have fallen? (10) Under what circumstances had Rome previously "seen a foreign foe in its streets"? (11) What is meant by Vandalism? (12) Whose fate may Attila have had in mind when he turned back from conquering Italy?
- (13) The citizen in the city of Rome in the late empire. (14) The last of the Vestal Virgins. (15) A journey from Rome
- Suggestive topics
- Search topics

to Britain. (16) A journey from Rome to Antioch. (17) The council of Nicæa. (18) The Roman conception of the Germans. (19) The early German conception of the Romans. (20) Life among the Goths. (21) Battle of Adrianople. (22) The sack of Rome by the Goths.

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CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE AND THE FOUNDATION OF GERMANIC STATES

Two years after the death of Honorius in 423, his nephew Valentinian III. ascended the throne and ruled the western empire for thirty years. Valentinian was as incompetent as his uncle, and while he sat quietly in Ravenna and in Rome, the storm of Germanic invasions was raging in all parts of his empire. Had it not been for the political skill of his mother Placidia, who ruled as his regent for many years, and for the devotion of his general Aëtius, the empire might thus early have been destroyed. In 455 Valentinian died, and his death was speedily followed by the Vandal sack of Rome.

Thenceforward, the office of emperor was nothing more than a toy for Ricimer, the German captain of the imperial army; for nearly twenty years he set up and pulled down emperors at his will. When he died, in 472, his place as king-maker was taken by Orestes, an Illyrian, who set his own son, Romulus, called Augustulus, on the throne. But Orestes was not supported by the German mercenaries as Ricimer had been, and therefore his rule was short. In 476 his son was deposed, and he himself was killed, because he refused to accede to the demands of the German soldiers, and another German, Odoacer, assumed the reins of government, without going through the formality of setting up a puppet emperor. Thus ended the rule of the Roman emperors in the west. "It is not a storm, or an earthquake, or a fire, this end of the Roman rule over Italy; it is more

*Hodgkin,
Italy and
her Invad-
ers, bk. iii.
ch. 8*





like the gentle fluttering down to earth of the last leaf of a withered tree."

The deposition of Romulus in 476 was but the culmination of a process which had been slowly maturing for two or three cen-

486. Causes of the fall turies. The causes of the fall of the western empire are

many and hard to define, but they may all be summed up in a few words. In the first place, all production, both on the farms and in the shops, was in the hands of slaves; there was little for the poor freeman to do but to settle in the city and live upon the bounty of the government. With the exception of the very few rich nobles and knights, almost the entire population of Italy ultimately became a population of paupers, who knew no patriotism, who had no ambition, who were worse than useless for the defense of the state. Conditions were better in the provinces for a long time; but as the city population grew, and the increased responsibilities were thrown on the emperors, who were making vain endeavors to hold the Germans in check, the burden of taxation grew heavier and heavier, till the government absorbed the greater part of the wealth that was produced. Merchants, manufacturers, and landowners alike were ruined, and ultimately the world was forced to live largely on what had been produced in all the earlier ages of antiquity.

A second cause is to be found in the fact that for generation after generation the empire had been drained of its strongest and bravest men by constant wars, so that the only men left were the weaklings who could find nothing better to do than to sit idly in the cities and clamor for bread. The Roman army by the middle of the fifth century had long since ceased to be

*Bryce, Holy Roman in anything but name; "after Constantine," says
Roman Empire,
ch. iii. 9 Bryce, "the barbarians form the majority of the troops;
after Theodosius, a Roman is an exception."* German

mercenaries took the place of Roman citizens, the legionary formation was abandoned, discipline was relaxed, patriotism

ceased to actuate the army; and when for the first time in six centuries the Roman foot soldier found it impossible to stand against cavalrymen, the empire was gradually submerged under the flood of a barbarian horde.

Finally, at the very time when the empire needed all its united strength, the east and west fell asunder. The breach was not inevitable, for such a man as Theodosius was able to hold it together; but men like Theodosius were rare in the fifth century, and consequently the old antagonism between the Greek and the Roman was felt once more, and in the disunion the German invader found his opportunity for establishing himself within the western empire.

In 476 A.D. the burden of the centuries became too great for the weakened western empire to bear, and the government, as we have seen, fell into the hands of the barbarians.

Fortunately for the continuance of Roman traditions, the emperors at Constantinople found a method by which they could turn aside the flood of barbarian invaders, and so for almost another thousand years, till the victory of the Turks in 1453, the empire of the east continued to exist; and though its history only rarely affects the history of western Europe, still the rulers at Constantinople kept alive, more or less perfectly, the traditions of Roman law and customs, and held the barbarians of Asia in check till the new nations of western Europe were able to relieve them of the burden.

The kingdom which Odoacer founded in Italy upon the ruins of the western empire lasted only a few years. He did his best to reconcile Italy to his government, and to seat himself firmly on the throne; but it was all of no avail: a mightier man, Theodoric the Ostrogoth, the greatest of all the early Germanic conquerors, came to Italy, and before him the power of Odoacer vanished into air.

After Attila died, the Ostrogoths threw off the yoke of the Huns, and were allowed to settle in the Danube provinces as

487. Survival of
Roman traditions in
the eastern empire

488. Ostrogothic conquest of
Italy (490-493 A.D.)

allies of the eastern emperor. Twenty years later, Theodoric became their king; and for fifteen years he went up and down in Mœsia and Pannonia, doing everything in his power to consolidate the Ostrogoths, and trying his best to serve his imperial master. Finally, about 490, he became restless, and appeared before the eastern emperor, begging to be allowed to undertake the conquest

Jordanes, History of the Goths, lvi.

of Italy. “‘Why,’ he asked, ‘does the western part of your empire, which your fore-fathers ruled so long, suffer under the yoke of Odoacer? Send me and my people thither, if you will; thus will you raise from your shoulders the heavy burden of our maintenance and, if God wills it, and I am victorious, I will establish your honor before God in the west once more.’”

The eastern emperors knew how to save themselves from harm by directing the wild energies of the Germanic tribes against the western empire; consequently, Theodoric’s request was granted almost before it was made, and in the year 490 he set out for Italy. Thus was the eastern empire rid of a possible future foe, and henceforth no German host ever again threatened Constantinople.

The conquest of Italy was comparatively rapid. In three great battles Odoacer was completely outgeneraled, and by 493, after murdering his rival in cold blood, Theodoric was absolute master of Italy.



PALACE OF THEODORIC, RAVENNA.

During the thirty-three years in which Theodoric ruled over Italy, he almost succeeded in setting up a new Germanic empire. "From his palace at Verona . . . he issued equal laws for Roman and Goth, and bade the intruder, if he must occupy part of the lands, at least to respect the goods and person of his fellow-subject. Jurisprudence and administration remained in native hands . . . and while agriculture and the arts revived in the provinces, Rome herself celebrated the visits of a master who

489. Theodoric's government Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, ch. iii.



provided for the wants of her people and preserved with care the monuments of her former splendor. With peace and plenty, men's minds took hope, and the study of letters revived. The last gleam of classical literature gilds the reign

of this barbarian." Besides all this, Theodoric did his best to keep his kingdom in friendly relations with all his neighbors; by marriages and alliances, he connected his kingdom with all the Germanic states which had sprung up in the west,

Jordanes, History of the Goths, viii. so that, as Jordanes says, "there was not, in all the west, one nation which, while he lived, did not serve him either in friendliness or in subjection."

Unfortunately for the permanence of his kingdom, the last years of his life were spent in quarreling with the bishop at



CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE.

Now a Mohammedan mosque.

Rome, with the emperor at Constantinople, and with his ministers at home; so that when he died he left to his successors only the shadow of the power which he had exercised for over thirty years.

Within two years after the death of Theodoric, Justinian ascended the throne of the eastern empire. This emperor, who began life as the son of an Illyrian peasant, and who married a dancing girl named Theodora, is perhaps the greatest ruler whom the empire had produced since Constantine. To him Constantinople owed its magnificent church of St.

490. Justinian's Code.

Sophia, and in his reign the culture of the silkworm was first introduced into Europe; but his fame rests especially upon his codification of the Roman law, and his conquests in the west.

For centuries the mass of the Roman law had been growing greater and greater, and therefore Justinian resolved to work over the entire literature of the law and to select from it those parts which were still of live interest. This work was intrusted to the jurist Tribonian, who was busy for many years, and then issued the result of his labors in a series of books: the *Code*, which contained the statutes of the empire still in force: the *Digest*, a mass of classified selections from the writings of the Jurists; and the *Institutes*, a short summary of the law, intended as a text-book for the use of students. By the labors of Tribonian, the Roman law was finally organized and perfected; thenceforth it stood in logical unity and completeness, and even to-day it is the basis of every code of laws in every country of western Europe except England.

The second great accomplishment of Justinian was the reunion by conquest of the west and east under his single rule, though he himself never led an army. In 533 he intrusted to Belisarius an expedition which was to proceed against the Vandals in northern Africa. The history of this war is admirably told in the works of the Greek historian Procopius. In one short campaign, Belisarius accomplished his task, and northern Africa was again added to the lands of the empire. "Thus the realm of Genseric, which he had handed down to his descendants in all its might, was destroyed, root and branch, by a band of five thousand horsemen, . . . who scarcely knew when they approached the shores of Africa where and how they were going to land."

Next, Belisarius crossed the sea into Italy; but, though he fought for five years, he met with no permanent success. Some ten years later he came again, but again the Ostrogoths

491. Con-
quests of
Justinian
(533-553
A.D.)

Procopius,
*Vandal
War, ii. 7*

opposed him successfully, and finally he was replaced by Narses, another of the emperor's great captains. The Ostrogoths fought on desperately for the land which Theodoric had bequeathed to them; but in 553 they were finally forced to relinquish their hold upon the peninsula; sadly they withdrew themselves from Italy and lost themselves among the other German tribes north of the Alps. Thus the work of Theodoric came to naught: only twenty-seven years had he been dead, yet scarcely a vestige of his prosperous reign was left in Italy.

Still the whirl of rapid changes goes on. For twelve years Narses ruled Italy from the city of Ravenna, as a part of the

492. Lombard conquest of Italy (568 A.D.) eastern empire. Then, in 565, Justinian died, and the enemies of Narses at the imperial court plotted for his recall. Soon they accomplished their purpose, and the

decreed was issued; but Narses never returned to Constantinople; instead, so the tradition has it, he opened the gates of Italy to the Lombards, a savage tribe of Germans living in Pannonia. That Narses actually invited the Lombards into Italy is doubtful; but whether he did or not, the day when they set foot in Italy was the beginning of the

Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, bk. vi. ch. 4 saddest period which the peninsula had yet experienced, for the Lombards, as Hodgkin says, "are the anarchists of the *Völkerwanderung*, whose delight is only in destruction, and who seem incapable of culture."

In 568, under their leader Alboin, they entered the peninsula, and soon the power of the eastern empire was confined to the cities of the southern coast and a narrow strip of territory along the eastern coast, known as the Exarchate of Ravenna. Alboin was crowned king at Pavia, but he did not live very long; for he was murdered by his wife Rosamond because of the indignity he had put upon her, making her drink wine out of the skull of her murdered father. Though the Lombards broke the power of the eastern empire in Italy,

they never completely conquered the land. Both Rome and Ravenna held out against their attacks, and consequently they had to content themselves with part of the lands of the Po valley, henceforth known as Lombardy, Tuscany (ancient Etruria), Spoleto (ancient Picenum), and Beneventum (ancient



Samnium and Lucania); and even that which they held they did not know how to organize into a consolidated kingdom. Till the day when their possessions were absorbed into the Frankish kingdom, their power was divided among a number of petty princes, none of whom recognized the king as anything more than a nominal overlord.

In the east, too, the empire of Justinian was crumbling to pieces. Attack after attack was made upon the frontiers by a

new race of Persians, who succeeded for a time in wresting Syria and Egypt from the control of the empire. Under Heraclius (610-641), these territories were temporarily regained, but before he died both his empire and that of the Persians were threatened with destruction by the Mohammedans, of whom we shall hear more in the next chapter.

In the year when the Lombards first set foot in Italy, the Franks, the greatest of all the Germanic tribes, had already

483. Clovis, King of the Franks (480-511 A.D.) been established in the empire for more than a century. Sometime about 450 A.D. they crossed the Rhine, and from that time on they occupied the river valley as far south as the river Main. From this, their original habitation in the empire, they never wandered; instead, they slowly extended their power in all directions, and it is this one fact more than any other that is the secret of their final triumph in the Germanic world.

In early times, the Franks were divided into a number of petty tribes united loosely into two great federations: the Salian and the Ripuarian Franks. About 480, Clovis, who traced his ancestry back to a mythical hero, Merovius, was elected chief by one of the Salian tribes, and with steady, unrelenting purpose he set to work to unite all the Franks under his rule. Within a few years, the Salians had acknowledged him as their king. Then his ambition led him in 486 to enter northern Gaul, where the Romans still remained in control; and at Soissons, on a tributary of the Seine, he met and totally defeated the Roman forces under Syagrius. By that one battle, Clovis added to his dominions all of Gaul north of the river Loire. Twenty-five years longer he ruled over the Franks, and in that time he added to his dominions the lands of the upper Rhine valley and most of the territory of the Visigoths between the Loire and the Pyrenees; so that on the day of his death he controlled an empire greater than that of any German prince before his time.

Up to the time of Clovis, the Franks had all been pagans; but Clovis's wife was a Catholic Christian, and in 496, after a battle with the Alemanni, Clovis resolved to accept his wife's religion, and forced his followers to do the same. The importance of this step can only be appreciated when we remember that all the other Germans who had thus far entered the empire were Arians, and therefore heretics in the eyes of the orthodox church. Now, by the conversion of Clovis, the orthodox church gained a powerful ally which it could and did use against its opponents.

494. Conversion of Clovis (496 A.D.)

Within a generation after the death of Clovis, the Franks conquered the Burgundians, another Germanic tribe which had invaded the empire early in the fifth century and settled in the valley of the Rhone. But, though the descendants of Clovis continued to rule for almost two hundred and fifty years, the Merovingian house produced scarcely a single man worthy of the name of king. Owing to the vicious practice of dividing the royal authority on the death of the king among all his sons, the land was constantly torn by internal strife; nevertheless, it was the fortune of the Frankish people that their national power remained great in spite of the weakness of their kings. The territory which they had conquered, they never completely lost; and throughout this period the lands from the ocean almost to the Elbe, from the North Sea to the Pyrenees and the Mediterranean, owned the Franks as their masters.

495. Later Merovingians (511-752 A.D.)

The first Germanic invasions were undertaken by tribes which came into the empire without any definite idea as to how or where they were going to settle in the empire. In 476, the western empire finally fell as a result of these random attacks, and the kingdom of Odoacer took its place; but in less than twenty years it succumbed to the attacks of Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, the first barbarian who made an

496. Summary

honest effort to reconcile the antagonism between the conquerors and their Roman victims. In this attempt we have the beginnings of the amalgamation of Roman and German in language and in life which ultimately was to result in the formation of the Romance languages and of the Romance nations. Theodoric failed, and within thirty years after his death the

splendid fabric which he had built crumbled before the attacks of the hosts of Justinian, the great lawmaker.

Once again, in 568, the peninsula became the prey of an invading host, the Lombards, the worst of all the Germanic invaders. Meanwhile there had grown up in the north a great and permanent power,

the kingdom of the Franks. Founded by the greatest of the Merovingians, Clovis, it grew steadily in power, in spite of the continual strife between the members of the royal family, till it controlled nearly all the lands from the Elbe to the sea. The secret of this growth is to be found in two facts: first, the Franks never migrated from their original home, but extended their power to the lands about them; second, their conquests were confined almost exclusively to Germanic peoples; thus they never contended with the difficulties which met the first invaders of the empire.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

- (1) The first king of Rome and the last emperor.
- (2) In what other country that you know of did slavery keep the people in a backward state? Why?
- (3) In an encyclopedia look up the early



INTERIOR OF S. APOLLINARE NUOVO,
RAVENNA.

Built by Theodoric.

life of Theodoric and find out what relation it had to his manner of governing Italy. (4) What nations in the west were there at that time, to serve Theodoric "in friendliness or subjection"? (5) What was the form of early Greek and Roman laws? Who were the first codifiers of Roman law? (6) Judging from his wars in the west, what ambition do you think Justinian had? (7) Besides the Franks, what other nation about which you have studied never left its original home but increased its power by adding bit by bit to its territory? (8) Who were the Arians? In what way did they differ from the orthodox church?

- (9) The Franks. (10) The Lombards. (11) The Saxons.
- (12) The Ostrogoths. (13) Germans in the Roman army.
- (14) Good side of Theodoric's life. (15) The latest Roman buildings.
- (16) The circus in Constantinople. (17) Roman mosaics.
- (18) Mosque of St. Sophia. (19) Life of Justinian. (20) Clovis.

Search topics

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CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROMAN PAPACY AND THE CREATION OF THE MEDLÆVAL EMPIRE

AFTER the death of Constantine, as we have seen, the empire finally separated into two great organisms, with a line of separation running along the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea.
497. The eastern and western church This division of the empire involved a division of the church as well, and in later centuries the breach between the churches of the east and of the west became more and more complete. After all, the rivalries between the Greeks and the Romans had never been completely reconciled; and as the empire fell apart, the differences in the ideals of the two civilizations again revealed themselves and made their influence felt upon the doctrines of the Christian church. The eastern church tended more and more to speculation, the western church to organization; and as we enter upon the Middle Ages the Christian world was no longer a unity; within it, there were two distinct churches: the Greek Catholic church of the east, and the Roman Catholic church of the west, neither of which was much affected by the development of the other.

In the years immediately after the death of Jesus, Christian worshipers met informally, without any thought of organization.
498. Growth of church organization Soon, however, separate congregations were organized, and within each of these a number of officers with definite functions were elected. At the head of the congregation stood the presiding elder, or Bishop as he was called; below him were the officiating presbyters, or priests; and below them, the deacons. Then came the time when the parent church sent out missionaries to establish congregations in the surrounding territory, over each of which one of the presbyters was

placed in authority, with the understanding that he should still acknowledge the authority of the bishop of the parent church. In this way, in time, the bishop became head over a number of churches, and we have the beginnings of the modern diocese.

The hierarchy had certainly developed to this point by the time of Constantine; about that time or soon afterward, another step in the development may be observed. Certain bishops, by reason of the importance of their churches, came to be honored above the mass of their brethren; these were called the Metropolitans or Archbishops; usually they were the bishops in the larger cities of the empire.

Still the development was not complete: by the middle of the fifth century, a grade of clergy higher even than the metropolitans had come into existence; these were the Patriarchs, heads of the oldest and most important church centers in all the empire—cities like Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Rome. A centralizing tendency is thus observable in the growth of the church; let us next see how this tendency was carried to its extreme limits in the western church.

If we look at the map, we shall see that the only patriarchal church in the west was in the city of Rome: therefore we can easily understand how the bishop of Rome gradually came to be ecclesiastical primate over the entire western world. But the claims of the bishops of Rome were even greater than this: by virtue of their office, they contended that they were primates not only over the churches of the west, but over all the Christian churches in all the world. This claim was based upon the doctrine of the Petrine supremacy, which may be briefly stated as follows. Christ, said the Roman bishops, had designated Peter as the chief of his apostles in those famous words, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Since Peter had founded the church at Rome, and had acted as its head, according to the Roman

499. Pri-
macy of
Rome

Matthew,
xvi. 18

claims, the bishops of Rome were his spiritual successors, and as such were entitled to all the consideration which Peter had enjoyed as the first of the apostles. Though the primacy of Peter among the apostles was acknowledged by many eastern Fathers, most of the churches of the east refused to recognize the bishop of Rome as universal head of the Church; but the churches of the west grew more and more accustomed to looking to Rome as their spiritual mother, and by the beginning of the Middle Ages, he was a bold man who denied the primacy of the Pope, as the bishop of Rome had now come to be called.

Many things had occurred to augment the power of the Roman bishop. Thus, when Constantine transferred his cap-

500. Growth of the Roman Papacy ital to Constantinople, he left the Roman bishop as the greatest man in the west; præfets and governors there were, but none of them could rival him in dignity or power. Then, too, the bishops of Rome were an especially worthy and high-minded set of men, and the authority of the church was constantly augmented by the clearness and fairness with which they settled the cases of dispute which came before them from all parts of the western world. As time went on, the custom of appealing to Rome grew more and more common, so that, by the end of the sixth century, what in the beginning had been a voluntary act, came to be a matter of law: the bishops of Rome were now the last court of appeal in all cases of ecclesiastical dispute.

The bishops of Rome also found an excellent opportunity for exercising their influence and impressing their greatness upon the people in the time of the Germanic invasions, which followed one another in such rapid succession in the fifth and sixth centuries. Repeatedly they succeeded in saving the people from the wrath of the barbarians; and it was but natural that the papal power gradually came to be looked upon as something more than human. Finally, more than any other church in the west, Rome sent out missionaries to distant parts of

the world, and every church established by the missionaries became a center of loyalty to the bishop of Rome and served to augment his authority. From these and many other causes, by the end of the sixth century the entire western world came to recognize the primacy of Rome in spiritual affairs.

Two or three centuries later, the bishops of Rome began to claim supremacy in temporal affairs as well; but that is a matter which belongs to the history of the Middle Ages, and need not be treated here. For the present it is sufficient to remember that the western church came to be a thoroughly centralized spiritual power with the pope at its head.

In the course of the seventh century, the power of the Merovingian kings steadily declined, till, as Einhard, the biographer of Charlemagne, says, "There was nothing left for the king to do but to be content with his flowing hair and long beard, and to sit on the throne and play the ruler. . . . He had nothing that he could call his own beyond the vain title of king and the precarious support allowed him by the mayor of the palace." In all the divisions and reunions of the kingdom which mark these years, one line of geographical cleavage tends constantly to reappear: a line running along the Vosges Mountains west of the Rhine. In these early times the significance of the boundary was hardly perceived, but in later centuries it gradually came to be regarded as the frontier between two great nations, the Germans and the French, and to-day is approximately the boundary between France and Germany.

While the authority of the king declined, the power of the chief minister of the kingdom, the mayor of the palace, steadily became greater and greater. At first the minister was an appointee of the king, but in course of time the office became hereditary in one family. In the kingdom of the eastern Franks, called Austrasia, the mayor of the palace was chosen from the family of the Carolingians.

501. The
mayors of
the palace
*Einhard,
Charle-
magne, i.*

502. Early
Carolin-
gians

The first great representative of this family was Pepin of Landen, mayor of the palace in the second quarter of the seventh century. When he died, he was succeeded by his son Grimoald, who thought that the time had already come to set aside the Merovingian kings; but the Frankish nobles were not ready for such a change, and Grimoald paid for his mistake with his life. The next mayor of the palace was Pepin of Héristal, whose greatest merit lies in the fact that he reunited the kingdoms of the eastern and the western Franks. His successor was his son Charles, known from his military prowess as Martel (the Hammer), whose fame rests upon the fact that he rolled back the tide of Mohammedan invasion which threatened in his time to overwhelm all Europe.



MOHAMMEDAN POWER IN 750.

While Europe was still in the throes of transition from ancient to mediæval civilization, there suddenly grew up in

503. The southwestern Asia a great world power, the empire of **Mohammedan invasion** the Mohammedan Arabians. In 571 there was born in the city of Mecca a man named Mohammed. In early manhood a merchant, as time went by he conceived of himself as a new prophet of God and the founder of a new religion. In 622 he was forced to flee from Mecca to Medina, and from that time on his power increased till almost all of Arabia acknowledged him as the prophet of God and the founder of a new semireligious empire. His doctrines were incorporated in the Koran, the Bible of the Mohammedans.

After the death of Mohammed, in 632 A.D., the power of the Mohammedans spread rapidly throughout Asia; the Persian empire was completely overwhelmed, and at one time even the existence of the Eastern Roman Empire was threatened. But the conquerors were repulsed and driven back from Constantinople by the Emperor Leo III. (717-741), whose chief fame rests upon his strenuous warfare against those who advocated the use of images in the service of the church. From this fight, he and his followers became known as the Iconoclasts or image-breakers. Though the iconoclasts were temporarily successful, the use of images was again introduced into the eastern church by the empress Irene, who ruled at Constantinople toward the end of the century.

Checked in their progress toward Europe in the east, the Mohammedans next turned south into Egypt, and in the course of a half century conquered the entire southern Mediterranean shore. In 711 they crossed into Spain, and within a few years made themselves masters of the peninsula. In 721 they crossed the Pyrenees into Aquitaine; here they were checked for a time, but eleven years later they came again and advanced north almost to the banks of the Loire. By this time Charles Martel, mayor of the palace for the entire Frankish realm, was ready; in a desperate battle, known as the battle of Tours (732 A.D.), the Arabs were defeated and forced to



MOORISH GATE, TOLEDO, SPAIN.

retire south of the Pyrenees, and thus was central Europe saved from their domination. Still the empire of the Mohammedans, known as the Caliphate, from the title of its rulers, extended from India to the Atlantic Ocean, and it was only when this empire broke up into a number of smaller kingdoms that it ceased to be a menace to the people of central Europe.

Charles Martel was followed by his two sons, Pepin and Carloman; but Carloman soon renounced the cares of state and

504. Pepin, retired into a monastery, and thus Pepin became sole **king of the Franks** (752 A.D.) ruler of the kingdom. From the beginning of his reign, he felt that his position was anomalous: while he practically exercised all the powers of king, in name he was only a chief minister. To remedy this anomaly, he appealed to the pope to sanction the deposition of the Merovingian king, so that he might assume the royal title. The pope gladly gave his consent; for just at that time his power in Italy was seriously threatened by Aistulf, the Lombard king, — according to the papal chronicles, a very child of the devil. Accordingly, in 752, Pepin became king of the Franks.

The cordial relations established with the pope soon bore fruit. In 751 Aistulf had attacked and taken Ravenna, ending forever the power of the eastern emperors in the west; the next year and the year following, he laid siege to Rome, and the pope in his desperation resolved to journey into Gaul to ask the Frank personally for aid. Pepin, who had just assumed the Frankish crown by the favor of the pope, could not do less than comply; in 755 and again in 756, he crossed the Alps into Italy, and compelled Aistulf to relinquish his attack upon the city of Rome, and to give up all the cities which he had conquered to the Frankish king.

These cities, for the most part, lay along the eastern coast of Italy; and since Pepin had no ambition to become a ruler of lands beyond the Alps, he bestowed all the cities upon the pope as a temporal lord. The importance of

505. "Donation of Pepin"

this gift was enormous: in the first place, it cemented the alliance between the papacy and the Franks, and led a generation later to the foundation of the mediæval empire; in the second place, it laid the real foundations for the temporal power of the papacy, and thus involved the Roman bishops, who up to this time had been only spiritual leaders, in the fierce political strife which marks the entire course of the Middle Ages.

In 768 Pepin was succeeded by his son Charles, commonly known as Charlemagne, the greatest figure among all the men



THE IRON CROWN OF THE LOMBARDS.

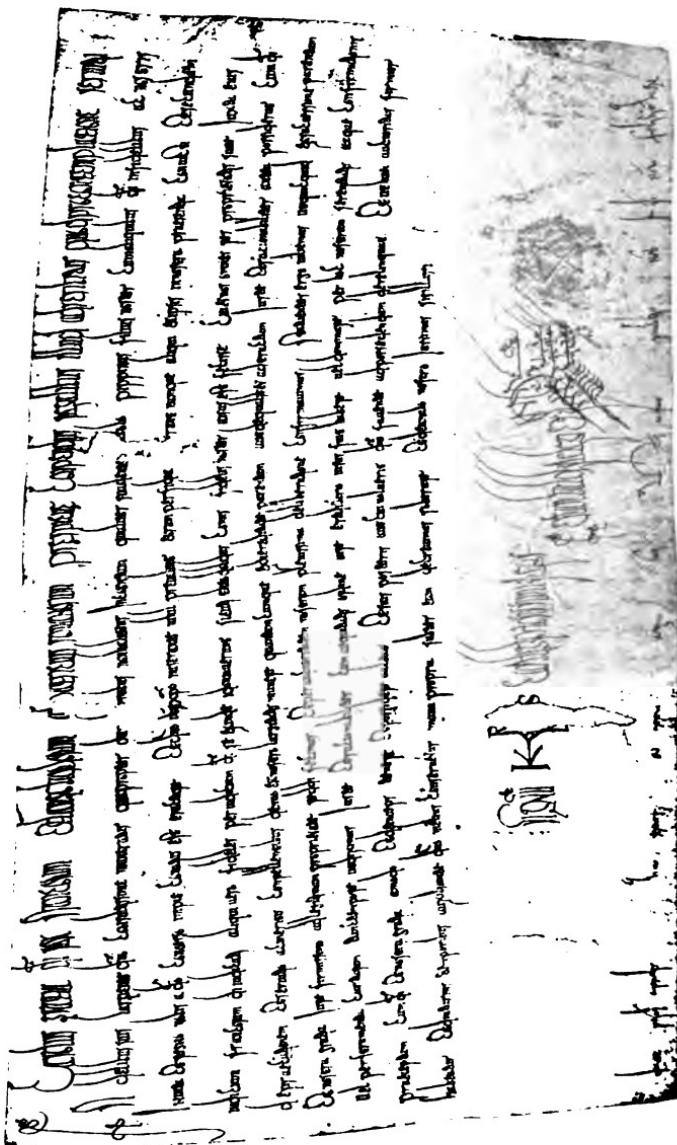
of German race whom we have yet encountered; for he was warrior, statesman, organizer, and king, all in one. "Great and powerful as was the realm of the Franks which Charles received from his father Pepin," says Einhard, "he nevertheless so splendidly

enlarged it by his wars, that he almost doubled its dimensions."

During his reign he conquered the Saxons, a wild Germanic people to the east, and finally reduced the Lombards to submission, assuming as his own their iron crown which is said to have been fashioned out of a nail of the True Cross. Furthermore he fought with the Saracens (the Mohammedans of Spain), and though once badly defeated at Roncesvalles, he succeeded in securing for himself a strip of territory south of the Pyrenees, known as the Spanish March.

The greatest achievement of Charlemagne, however, was the founding of the mediæval empire. After a brief misunderstanding with the papacy, Charlemagne renewed the friendly relations with the pope, and in 774 marched into Italy and put an end forever to the Lombard kingdom, which was again

506. Founding of the mediæval empire (800 A.D.)
Einhard, Charlemagne, xv.



FACSIMILE OF A DOCUMENT ISSUED BY CHARLEMAGNE IN FAVOR OF A FORMER REBEL, COUNT THEODOOLD, MARCH 31, 797.
The original is in the National Archives, Paris.

harassing the papacy. Twenty-six years later he came again, and this time he put an end to the internal strife which was distracting the Roman church.

As a reward, on Christmas day, in the year 800, he was crowned by the pope as emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. As he knelt at the altar to receive the crown, the crowd in the church shouted, "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, the magnificent, the bringer of peace, who has been crowned emperor by God." "In that shout, echoed by the Franks without, was pronounced the union, so long in preparation, so mighty in its consequences, of the Roman and the Teuton, of the memories and the civilization of the south with the fresh energy of the north, and from that moment modern history begins."

Though the actual circumstances under which the coronation took place were probably a surprise to Charlemagne, the event was long foreshadowed. From the day when Odoacer deposed Romulus, more than three hundred years before, the idea of a revival of the empire had never been absent from men's minds; the evidences of Roman power, such as the almost indestructible buildings and public works, and the remains of Roman institutions, had been constantly before the eyes of the Germans; and in all those centuries the idea had been cherished that sometime the old Roman empire should be renewed. Men thought that at last the desired goal had been reached.

Had they only known it, the new empire was a far different institution from the ancient empire. The crowning of Charlemagne was an attempt to revive the old Roman empire; but in all its essentials, the Holy Roman Empire was new. It lacked almost entirely the machinery by which the ancient empire had administered its affairs; and, what is far more important, its ideals were entirely different; the old empire had rested upon Roman ideas and Roman traditions, it had

507. Significance of the coronation
Bryce, Holy Roman Empire, ch. iv.

grown gradually as the result of centuries of conquest; the new empire was thoroughly German, its inhabitants were almost all Germans, its system of law was German, and its ruler had not a trace of Roman blood. Still, the new empire



CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE.

revived in men's minds all the glories of the past, and kept alive the mighty traditions of the invaluable civilization which Rome had created; and thus was forged the link between the ancient and the modern world.

In the centuries after the death of Constantine, the churches of the east and of the west gradually drew apart, till by the beginning of the Middle Ages they were pursuing different paths. In the west, the church at Rome was recognized as the spiritual head of all the world; this spiritual

monarchy, which the acknowledgment of the primacy of the church of Rome implied, is one of the two primary institutions of the Middle Ages; the other is the Holy Roman Empire.

In the Frankish realm, the greatest of the new Germanic kingdoms, the power of the Merovingian kings was gradually diverted into the hands of the Carolingian mayors of the palace. The Carolingians furnished four rulers whose names would grace the annals of any period of history. Each one contributed his share toward the upbuilding of the Frankish power. Pepin of Héristant, the first, united under his sole authority the entire kingdom; Charles Martel rolled back the tide of Mohammedan invasion; Pepin, his son, the first of the Carolingians to bear the title king, still further united the kingdom, and cemented the alliance with the Roman papacy; and Charlemagne, the fourth and greatest of them all, after thirty-two years of continuous war, revived the idea of a Roman empire, and in doing this finally brought the two civilizations, the Roman and the German, into eternal harmony. With the crowning of Charlemagne ends the long period of anarchy and misrule that marked the fall of the western empire; with the crowning of Charlemagne begins the new period, the period of the Middle Ages.



CHARLEMAGNE.

Mosaic in the Lateran, Rome; probably the nearest likeness of him in existence.

TOPICS

Suggestive topics

(1) Why did the church divide into eastern and western parts, and not into northern and southern? (2) Enumerate the steps in the growth of a patriarchate. (3) Compare the mayor of the palace with the British prime minister. (4) To what race do the Arabians belong? What other religion has that race contributed to our civilization? (5) If the Mohammedans had conquered at Tours, would western Europe be in the same state as Turkey to-day? (6) Who represented the eastern emperors in the west? (7) What is meant by the temporal and the spiritual power of the papacy? (8) Why was the new empire called "Holy"? (9) What great institution in the Holy Roman Empire was absent in the old Roman empire?

Search topics

(10) What are the present relations of the Roman and Greek churches? (11) The old St. Peter's Church at Rome. (12) The character of Mohammed. (13) The Saracens. (14) Charlemagne in Rome. (15) Why did the Latin tongue die out among the Germans?

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Diacritic marks: *d* as in *far*; *g* as in *veil*; *I* as in *police*; *ñ* as in *rude*; *ŷ* as in *my*; *ÿ* as in *hymn*; *e*, *eh*, as in *cask*, *chaos*; *ç* as in *ice*; *g* as in *gem*; *ḡ* as in *go*; *N*, the French nasal; *ȝ* as in *new*. The long and short marks used with vowels need no explanation. Single italic letters are silent.

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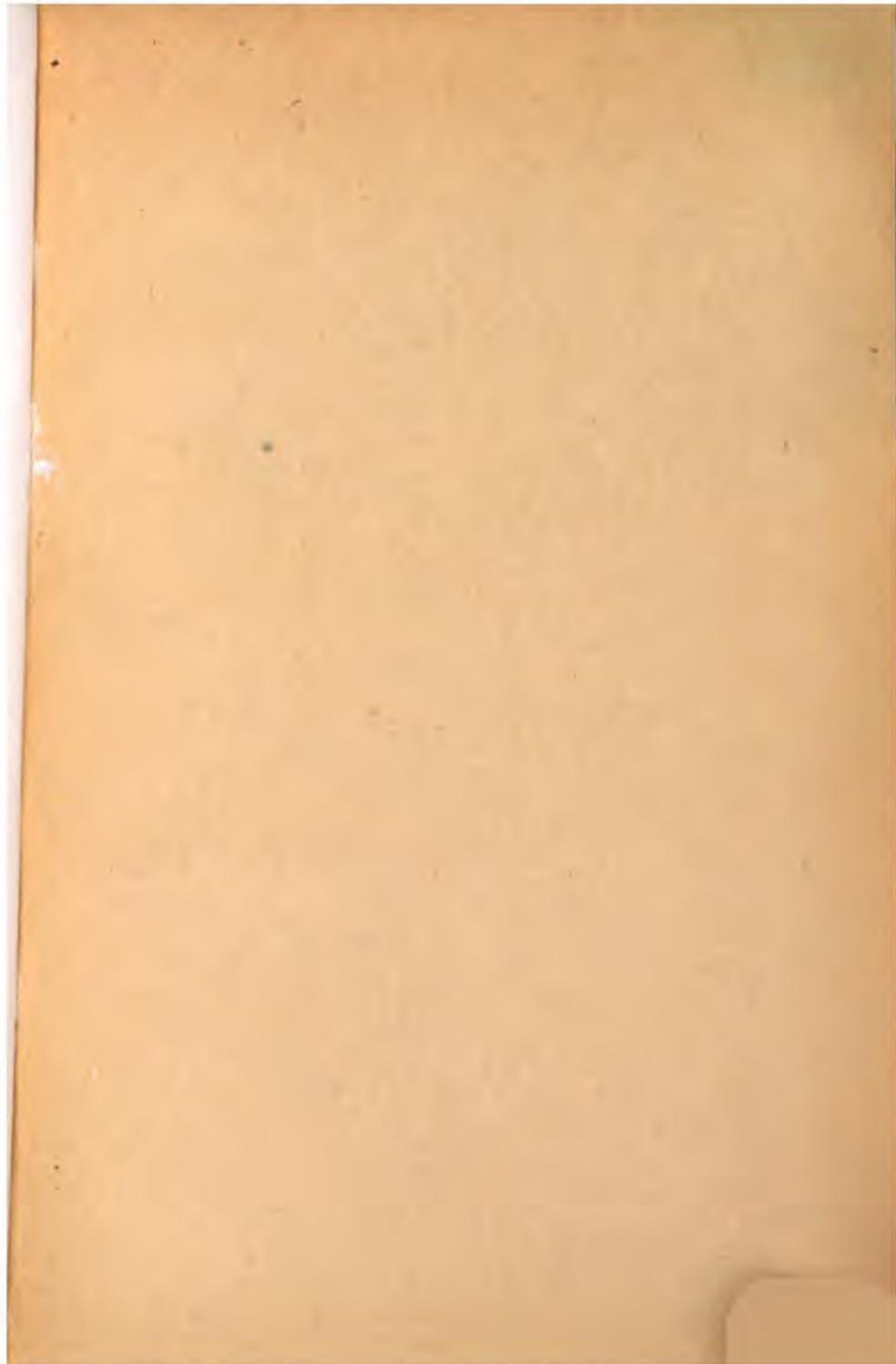
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